

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE
(D.1817) IN CHANGING NIGERIAN SOCIETY: A
DISCUSSION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IBN
KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF *'UMRAN***

SHUAIBU UMAR GOKARU

**ACADEMY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

2017

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE
(D.1817) IN CHANGING NIGERIAN SOCIETY: A
DISCUSSION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IBN
KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF '*UMRAN*'**

SHUAIBU UMAR GOKARU

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

**ACADEMY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

2017

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

ORIGINAL LITERARY WORK DECLARATION

Name of Candidate: **Shuaibu Umar Gokaru**

Matric No: **IHA140056**

Name of Degree: **Doctor of Philosophy**

Title of Project Paper/Research Report/Dissertation/Thesis ("this Work")

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE (D. 1817) IN
CHANGING NIGERIAN SOCIETY: A DISCUSSION FROM THE
PERSPECTIVE OF IBN KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF 'UMRAN**

Field of Study: **Islamic Civilisation (Religion)**

I do solemnly and sincerely declare that:

- (1) I am the sole author/author of this Work;
- (2) This Work is original;
- (3) Any use of any work in which copyright exists was done by way of fair dealing and for permitted purposes and any excerpt or extract from, or reference to or reproduction of any copyright work has been disclosed expressly and sufficiently and the title of the Work and its authorship have been acknowledged in this Work;
- (4) I do not have any actual knowledge nor do I ought reasonably to know that the making of this work constitutes an infringement of any copyright work;
- (5) I hereby assign all and every right in the copyright to this Work to the University of Malaya ("UM"), who henceforth shall be owner of the copyright in this Work and that any reproduction or use in any form or by any means whatsoever is prohibited without the written consent of UM having been first had and obtained;
- (6) I am fully aware that if in the course of making this Work I have infringed any copyright whether intentionally or otherwise, I may be subject to legal action or any other action as may be determined by UM.

Candidate's Signature Date:

Subscribed and solemnly declared before,

Witness's Signature Date:

Name:

Designation: Department of Islamic History and Civilisation
Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

ABSTRACT

Nigeria is one of the most populous countries in Africa and is majority Muslim. Thus, various scholars had attempted to change Nigerian society. Among them was Uthman bin Foduye, who lived from 1754-1817 and contributed toward changing Nigeria to a united society according to the dictates of the Sharī‘ah. This is a historical-comparative research analysing the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān*. The study relies on the books written by Uthman bin Foduye to understand the extent of his thought on societal change. Meanwhile, some key important academics in Nigeria were interviewed to supplement the documentary data to understand the real picture of Uthman bin Foduye’s contribution in Nigeria. The findings reveal that Uthman bin Foduye made evolutionary and revolutionary contributions. His evolutionary contributions comprised peaceful teaching, preaching and writing. Uthman and his community resorted to revolutionary tactics due to the plot made by the rulers of Hausaland to assassinate him and his followers. He succeeded in overthrowing their government and establishing his Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate, in present-day, Northern part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which its impacts still exist to this day. Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* is relevant as both scholars shared the belief that corruption, injustice, imposing a heavy tax on the subjects, indulgence in a life of luxury and favouritism are among the negative factors responsible for the decline of states/societies and dynasties. Moreover, an analysis of Uthman’s writings reveals that Ibn Khaldun’s thought indeed influenced his societal change.

ABSTRAK

Nigeria adalah di antara negara yang mempunyai bilangan umat Islam teramai di Benua Afrika. Beberapa usaha untuk membawa perubahan telah dilakukan oleh toko-tokoh masyarakat, antaranya ialah Uthman bin Foduye sepanjang usianya dari tahun 1754 hingga 1817. Beliau berusaha membawa masyarakat Nigeria agar berusaha menjadi masyarakat maju yang bersatu dan mengikut syariat Islam. Kajian menggunakan metod historis dengan menganalisis dokumen perkembangan hidup tokoh serta sumbangannya. Temubual dengan para cendekiawan di Nigeria juga dilakukan untuk mendapatkan gambaran jelas tentang sumbangan tokoh di samping buku-buku karya tokoh dijadikan asas untuk memahami pemikiran beliau. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa Uthman bin Foduye membawa evolusi dan revolusi secara aman kepada masyarakatnya melalui bidang penulisan, pengajaran dan dakwah. Uthman dan masyarakatnya telah menggunakan taktik revolusi ekor plot yang dibuat oleh raja-raja Hausaland untuk membunuh beliau dan pengikut-pengikutnya. Beliau telah berjaya menumbangkan kerajaan Hausaland dan menubuhkan kerajaan Islam yang dikenali sebagai Sokoto Khalifah di bahagian utara Republik Persekutuan Nigeria, dan kesan pemerintahannya masih wujud hingga ke hari ini. Konsep *Umrān* Ibn Khaldun dilihat relevan di mana tokoh ini meyakini bahawa rasuah, ketidakadilan, mengenakan cukai yang tinggi kepada orang awam, kehidupan yang mewah adalah di antara faktor-faktor negatif yang bertanggungjawab atas kejatuhan negara-negara, pertubuhan dan dinasti. Selain itu, analisis karya Uthman mendedahkan bahawa pemikiran Ibn Khaldun telah mempengaruhi perubahan yang dilakukan oleh beliau di Hausaland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. All praises and thanks are due to Allah who taught man what he knew not. Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon His final Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It is due to the will and graces of Allah that this work has been accomplished. In addition, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Ahmad Faisal bin Abdul Hamid. Despite the fact that he is Head of Department, he took the time to read the work and made various suggestions and corrections. He indeed has supported me with kindness and confidently encouraged to the completion of the thesis. May Almighty Allah reward him with the best of His rewards. Similarly, my profound gratitude goes to my other supervisor, Dr. Aizan bt Ali @ Mat Zin, for her countless scholarly contributions. She reads the work and made comments and corrections, which energetically led to the completion of the thesis. May Almighty Allah reward her abundantly.. I am deeply and profoundly indebted to Prof. Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim of the Department of Islamic Studies, UDUS, Nigeria. My thanks are also extended to my dearly loved wife, Maryam Abubakar, my mother, Hajiya Maimunatu Abubakar, and my brother, Alhaji Adamu U. Gokaru, for their constant prayers and support during the heavy task of this study. Thanks are also due to my beloved sons, Umar (Bassam) and Abubakar Sadiq because they were the sources of my comfort and inspiration of my eyes and heart especially when the stress of research became great. I acknowledged the kind contribution of Prof. Dr. Abdullah Ahsan of IIUM and Dr. Asyiqin bt Abdul Halim of UM. My sincere gratitude goes to my great mentor Dr. Mansur Is Yelwa, of the Faculty of Law, Bayero University Kano, Nigeria, whose contribution is unforgettable. Due to the space-factor, there are many others who contributed of whom I will not be able to mention their names. But, indeed, they are in my mind, and I sincerely pray Almighty Allah to bless and give them the best of what they are looking for in this world and the next to come.

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

ء	'	خ	kh	ش	Sh	غ	Gh	ن	N
ب	B	د	D	ص	ṣ	ف	F	هـ	H
ت	T	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	Q	و	W
ث	Th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	K	ي	Y
ج	J	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	L		
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ	م	M		

Short Vowels	
ـَ	a
ـِ	i
ـُ	u

Long Vowels	
ا + ـَ	ā
ي + ـِ	ī
و + ـُ	ū

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Original Literary Work Declaration.....	ii
Abstract	iii
<i>Abstrak</i>	iv
Acknowledgement.....	v
Transliteration Table	vi
Table Of Contents	vii
 CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.1.1 Historical Records of the Role of <i>Da'wah</i> in the Earliest Period of Islam.....	2
1.1.2 The History of Societal Change in Africa	4
1.2 Definition of Terms	10
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	20
1.4 Research Questions.....	20
1.5 Justification of the Study	21
1.6 Research Problems.....	21
1.7 Literature Review	22
1.7.1 Literature dealing with the Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Changing Nigerian Society	23
1.7.2 Literature dealing with the Establishment of Islamic Government: The Sokoto Caliphate.....	34
1.7.3 Literature dealing with the Common Background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun; and the Possibility of the Application of Ibn Khaldun's Concept of <i>'Umrān</i> in Uthman's Contribution	39
1.7.4 Literature dealing with Ibn Khaldun's Concept of <i>'Umrān</i>	43
1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study	55
1.9 Research Methodology	56
1.9.1 The Qualitative Research Method	56
1.9.2 Rationale for Qualitative Research Method	57
1.9.3 Historical-Comparative Research.....	57
1.9.4 Methods of Data Collection.....	58
1.9.5 Methods of Data Analysis	62
1.10 Organisation of the Thesis	64
 CHAPTER 2: THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE IN CHANGING NIGERIAN SOCIETY	67
2.1 Introduction.....	67
2.2 Historical Background of Nigerian Society	68
2.3 Geographical Location.....	69
2.4 Population Distribution.....	71
2.5 Religion in Nigeria.....	71
2.6 Hausaland before the Emergence of Uthman bin Foduye	73
2.7 The Coming of Islam into Hausaland	75
2.8 The Role of Earliest Islamic Reformers in Hausaland	76
2.9 The Decline of the Hausa Kingdom	78

2.10 The Biography of Uthman bin Foduye	80
2.11 Uthman bin Foduye's Education and Teachers	83
2.12 The Fundamental Factors to Uthman's Thought on Societal Change	86
2.12.1 Ethnoreligious Problems in Hausaland	87
2.12.2 Politico-Economic Problems in Hausaland	89
2.12.3 Sociocultural Problems in Hausaland.....	91
2.13 Uthman bin Foduye's Contribution in Evolutionary and Revolutionary Periods	93
2.13.1 The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Evolutionary Period.....	94
2.13.1.1 Ethical Factor	94
2.13.1.2 Intellectual Factors.....	97
2.13.1.3 The Approaches of Uthman bin Foduye in his Teaching and Preaching Activities	98
2.13.1.4. Who are the Targeted people in Uthman's Teaching and Preaching?	101
2.13.1.4.1 The Ignorant People of Hausaland.....	101
2.13.1.4.2 The Traditional Rulers of Hausaland.....	107
2.13.1.4.3 The Venal Scholars and their Activities	108
2.13.1.5 The Analysis of Uthman bin Foduye's Teaching and Preaching Methodologies.....	109
2.14 The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Revolutionary Period	112
2.14.1 Military Factor	113
2.15 Historical Overview of the Sokoto Caliphate	126
2.15.1 The Sokoto Caliphate: Its Location and Territories	126
2.15.2 The System of Government in the Caliphate	128
2.15.3 Shari'ah Administration in the Caliphate	131
2.16 The Decline of the Sokoto Caliphate to British Colonialism	133
2.16.1 Internal Factors	133
2.16.2 External Factors	138
2.17 Conclusion	140

CHAPTER 3: IBN KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF 'UMRĀN FOR THE ORGANISATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF HUMAN SOCIETY 143

3.1 Introduction.....	143
3.2 Framework of Ibn Khaldun's Concept of 'Umrān	144
3.2.1 The Basic Elements of 'Umrān	145
3.2.1.1 Organisation (<i>Ijtimā'</i>)	147
3.2.1.2 Cooperation (<i>Ta'āwun</i>).....	148
3.2.1.3 Defence (<i>Difā'</i>)	150
3.3 Types of 'Umrān: Ibn Khaldun's Points of Societal Change	153
3.3.1 'Umrān <i>Badawī</i>	154
3.3.2 'Umrān <i>Ḥaḍarī</i>	157
3.4 'Aṣabiyyah: A Central Concept of 'Umrān	161
3.4.1 The Role of 'Aṣabiyyah in 'Umrān <i>Badawī</i> and <i>Ḥaḍarī</i>	163

3.4.2 The Necessity of ‘ <i>Asabiyyah</i> in Religious Calling (<i>Da‘wah</i>) ...	167
3.4.3 The Need of Political Leadership in the Organisation of Human Society	171
3.4.3.1 <i>Siyāsah Dīniyyah</i>	171
3.4.3.2 <i>Siyāsah ‘Aqaliyyah</i>	173
3.5 Conclusion	175
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE’S CONTRIBUTION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IBN KHALDUN’S CONCEPT OF ‘<i>UMRĀN</i>.....	178
4.1 Introduction.....	178
4.2 The Relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s ‘ <i>Umrān</i> in the Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye	178
4.3 The Role of ‘ <i>Umrān</i> in Uthman bin Foduye’s Contribution in Changing Society	181
4.4 The Role of ‘ <i>Umrān</i> in the Establishment of Uthman bin Foduye’s Islamic government (The Sokoto Caliphate).....	188
4.5 The Relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s ‘ <i>Umrān</i> in the Present Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto, Nigeria.....	198
4.6 Conclusion	207
CHAPTER 5: THE COMMON BACKGROUND BETWEEN UTHMAN BIN FODUYE AND IBN KHALDUN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THEIR THOUGHTS ON THE DECLINE OF STATES/SOCIETIES AND DYNASTIES.....	209
5.1 Introduction.....	209
5.2 The Common Background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun	209
5.3 The Causes of the Decline of States/Societies and Dynasties in the Thought of Uthman and Ibn Khaldun	212
5.3.1. Self-Indulgence in a Life of luxury	212
5.3.2 Oppression and Injustice	218
5.3.3 Imposing Heavy Tax on the Subjects	225
5.3.4 Corruption and Favouritism	227
5.4 The Impact of Ibn Khaldun to Uthman bin Foduye’s Thought on Societal Reform	231
4.5 Conclusion	236
CHAPTER 6: GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	237
6.1 Conclusion	237
6.2 Recommendation for Further Research	241
REFERENCES.....	243
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.....	258
APPENDIX.....	260

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

History constitutes an integral part of any civilisation. In this respect, Suleiman observed that “history is a single chain of events, just as mankind is a chain of individuals and the world itself a chain of happenings”.¹ This proves to be in accordance with Allah’s saying “The creation you all and the resurrection of you all are only as (the creation and resurrection of) a single person”.² It should, however, be noted that prior to the creation of human beings, Allah promised to create man as His vicegerent on earth as He clearly mentioned in the Qur’an that “...Verily, I am going to place (mankind) generations after generations on earth”.³ This implies that the structure of human leadership would be in forms of groups after groups, societies after societies, and states after states, in which one succeeds another until the end of this world. Thus, it could be argued that the idea of perpetual societal transformation can trace its roots from this Qur’anic verse. Along the same lines argues Bugaje who links the idea of renewal with the perpetual line of Divinely Inspired prophets. He explains, “Islamic worldview is premised on the principle that man from the time of Adam (AS) left the Garden has been promised guidance in form of Messengers to be sent, the last of who was Muhammad (PBUH). The finality of prophethood which is very cardinal to Islamic belief system is precisely what made *tajdid* necessary since human society will continue to be prone to stagnation and decline”.⁴

¹ Ibrahim Sulaiman. *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio*. (London and New York: Manshell Publishing Limited, 1986), 9.

² Qur’an, *Surah Luqman*, 31: 28. From Translation of the meanings of *THE NOBLE QUR’AN* in the English Language (Translated by Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din Al-Hilali & Muhammad Muhsin Khan) (Madinah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur’an.

³ Qur’an. *Surah al-Baqarah*, 2: 30

⁴ Usman M. Bugaje. *Scholarship and Revolution: The Impact of a Tradition of Tajdid on the Sokoto Caliphal Leaders*, in Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu (ed), “The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004,” Vol. 2 (Kaduna, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), 11-12.

1.1.1 Historical Records of the Role of *Da'wah* in the Earliest Period of Islam

In the Glorious Qur'ān, Almighty Allah stated that "... Moreover, so are the days (good and not good), We give to men by turns..."⁵ In a cyclical form, Muslims have witnessed a number of powerful Islamic governments that had been emerged, developed, and fallen and been changed by one after another at different locations around the globe. Throughout the history of Islam, the societal change has been led by various important personalities in order to resolve the religious, social, political, moral and economic problems of their times. Their origin goes back to the societal reform undertaken by the Prophet (PBUH) in Arabia.⁶ Accordingly, the Prophet (PBUH) was considered the first Islamic reformer. Muhammad (PBUH) was sent when the Arab society was in the darkness of ignorance with no one to guide them to the right way. Therefore, the Prophet was sent not only to the Arab people but to all nations. For example, Allah says in the Glorious Qur'ān "And We have sent you not (O Muhammad PBUH) except as a giver of glad tidings and a warner to all mankind, but most of the men know not".⁷ In addition to this verse, there are various verses, which show the importance of the emergence of the Prophet (PBUH). Hence, it is believed that his emergence was to change the blameworthy acts that had been rampant in Arabian society to the light of Islam.

The Prophet was successful in reforming all aspects of human life. These changes were in line with the moral commandments and laws of the Glorious Qur'ān. The Prophet made a unique and unprecedented social reform that changed human history and was, therefore, the most successful reformist.⁸ It is stated "the Prophet accomplished for the Muslims a role that combines the functions of a distinguished

⁵ Qur'an, *Surah Al-Imran*, 3:140.

⁶ Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 40(4), 1997, 444–460.

⁷ Qur'an, *Surah Saba'*, 34: 28.

⁸ Mohammad Yacoob, "Prophet Muhammad-The Most Successful Reformist", Cited from: <http://www.islamicity.org/4154/prophet-muhammad-the-most-successful-reformist/>. Accessed on 5 May, 2016.

Prophet, statesman, reformer, and leader. He was respected by Muslims and non-Muslims everywhere in the globe”.⁹

Immediately, after the demise of the Prophet in 632, the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs, Abubakar, Umar, Uthman, and Ali succeeded each other continuing on his footpaths especially in the transformation and expansion of Islamic nations. Under Abubakar in the year 634, Islam was expanding wherein Abubakar is reported to have warned Muslim warriors “do not harm women, children and old people, to refrain from pillage and the destruction of crops, fruit trees, flowers and herbs, and to leave in peace the Christian monks and authorities as might be found in their cells”.¹⁰ When Abubakar died, his mission was taken over by the second Caliph of Islam, Umar (634-44). Umar had conquered many territories and subordinated under the Islamic state. Throughout the Caliphate of Uthman as the third Caliph (644-645), Islam recorded a remarkable expansion under Abd-Allah who succeeded Amr bin al-As. Moreover, Islam had expanded to Tripoli and many parts of *Ifriqiyah* (Africa) whose capital was Quata-Jannah (Carthage) which also came under Muslim rule.¹¹

Finally, during the Caliphate of the fourth Caliph Ali (656-661), the Muslim conquests extended from Persia to Tripoli, but he was tricked into losing his supreme position by a powerful governor of Syria named Mu’awiyah, who had been said that he seized the Caliphate by force and even bought off the claim of Ali’s son Hassan. From this time onward, the Caliphate succession was only decided on the principle of hereditary rule within a dynasty.¹² Successively, the idea of societal reforms continued during the reign of Mu’awiyah who founded the Umayyad dynasty and ruled the

⁹ Abdul-Fazl Ezzati, *The History of The Spread of Islam: An Introduction* (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1979), 173.

¹⁰ J. J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London: Second Impression, 1966), 43.

¹¹ Ibid., P. 7.

¹² J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the States of Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press, 1967), 11.

Muslim World from Damascus from 659 until 750.¹³ It was followed by the Abbasid dynasty, which overthrew the Umayyad dynasty in 750 by the Abbasids descendants of the Prophet's uncle, Abbas, and the capital was moved to Baghdad.¹⁴ The Ottoman Empire, which appeared in Anatolia in the 14th century, crossed over into Europe and began the conquests that ultimately gave it control of the territory that had once been Byzantine. The conquest ended in 1453 when the Ottomans captured Istanbul, former Constantinople.¹⁵

1.1.2 The History of Societal Change in Africa

Throughout the history of Islam, societal reform is not considered as a new phenomenon, but rather a perpetual activity since the early century of Islam. The decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century caused a gradual decline of Islamic states in various Muslim countries. This had inspired many Muslim scholars in different regions and countries including Nigeria to use the available knowledge and experience to reform Islam from the decline.¹⁶ Three hundred years before Uthman bin Foduye's attempt to change the Nigerian society, it appears that in North-East Africa, the Ethiopian people had witnessed a revolution led by the leader of Harār in the 16th century. His revolution helped the cultural development of the land.¹⁷ Subsequently, with this revolutionary *Jihād*, Imam bin Ibrahim al-Ghazi invaded Ethiopia between 1526 and 1543 and was called "The Conqueror" by the Muslims and 'Gran' by the Europeans, and the migratory movements of the Somali tribes which formed the core of his armies began, and was followed by those of the Gallas during the last year of the reign of Lebna Dengel. The Portuguese, who were Roman Catholics, allied with the

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the States of Northern Nigeria*, 11.

¹⁵ Philip Curtin and *et als*, *The African History from Earliest Times to Independence* 2nd Edition (London: Pearson Education Limited, 1995), 152.

¹⁶ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria: A Case Study* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: A. S. Noordeen, 1992), 45.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Christian Ethiopians pro-independence reaction, which made them almost anti-Muslim in their character.¹⁸ In West Africa, there were also examples wherein the reformist *Jihād* declared in the Gambia-Senegal Valley in Futa Jallon in the year 1725 by Alfa Ba against the heathen practices of Mandingo. Although Alfa Ba made the plans for *Jihad*, he did not live to see the fighting started. Therefore, his son, Karamako Ibrahim Alfa, took the field, conquered Mandingo, and established the Imamate (Kingdom) of Futa Jallon with its capital at Timbo.¹⁹

Subsequent to the reformist movements in West Africa in 1775, another *Jihād* was declared in Futa Toro between the Senegal and Ferlo rivers, where the Torobbe Muslim Fulānis rose against the pagan Dayankobe Fulānis. The Torobbe conquered them and established an Islamic state under the leadership of Shaykh Sulaiman Bal, and a line of Torobbe Imams followed the first Imam Abdul-Qadir bi Hammadi.²⁰ Although these two earlier *Jihāds* of Alfa Ba and Shaykh Sulaiman Bal were good examples for the *Mujāhids*, like Uthman bin Foduye (d. 1817) in Hausaland (Northern Nigeria). For Seku (Shaykh) Ahmadu (d. 1843) in Masinna (today's Mopti region of Mali) and Al-Hajj Umar Tal (d. 1864) in Bambara (also in Mali), not one among them ever achieved great political power, and their history was one of continual instability until they were finally destroyed by the French at the end of the century.²¹ It was against this background of societal reform that Uthman bin Foduye emerged to change the Nigerian society from a traditional to an Islamic society.

It is noteworthy that writings on Uthman bin Foduye have been ongoing mainly in the field of theology, sociology and political science, medicine among others. The problem is that little is known of how and why his contribution to change the Nigerian society was successful. This study is unique. It studies the contribution of Uthman bin

¹⁸ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria*, 46.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 172.

Foduye in changing Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* for the organisation and transformation of human society (*'Umrān*). Uthman bin Foduye's contribution is perhaps considered one of the events upon which Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* can be applied, particularly as he (Ibn Khaldun) outlines various factors responsible for the organisation and transformation of human societies. However, few scholars have examined the role of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's reforms. Ahmad Adam Okene, and Shukri b. Ahmad²² are among such researchers.

Uthman bin Foduye is an important figure in the transformation of traditional society into an Islamic society in the 19th-century history of West Africa (Bilād al-Sudan), especially in present-day Northern Nigeria. Uthman bin Foduye was of Fulani²³ origin with high intellectual and moral character. He lived from 1754-1817 and grew up in the Hausaland where the inhabitants were in the darkness of ignorance with gross oppression and aggressive exploitation of the people by the then rulers. He grew up with the zeal of reforming his society towards socio-religious development according to the dictates of Islam. It is pertinent to note that Uthman bin Foduye was adamant to reform his society. He initially studied its problem and came up with the approaches that were most suitable for the circumstances at that time, that is to say in a manner that gives him a smoothly way to achieve his target. He was inspired to reform his society from the

²² Ahmad Adam Okene and Shukri B. Ahmad "Ibn Khaldun, Cyclical Theory and the Rise and Fall of Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria, West Africa" @ Centre for Promoting Ideas USA in www.ijbssnet.com.

²³ In Nigeria, certain light skinned people living in the Northern States of Nigeria are called the Fulanis or Hilanis. They are also called Fulbe (singular Fullo). The Fulanis are either the cattle Fulani, Fulbe na'i' or Fulbe Ladde bushing Fulani, and the Fulbe sire, town Fulani. In Hausa law, they are called Fulanin gida or Zaire, and most of them speak Hausa language rather than their Fulfulde except for the Fulanis living in Adamawa. There exists a different category of Fulani called Bororo'en who know much about cattle medicines. They travel large tracts of bush outside Nigeria, and speak only Fulfulde language. They are mostly pagans. Even as Bororo'en, the Fulanis still were very intelligent people. They inherited the quality of natural leadership, such as Toronkawa and the Sullebawa. It was from former that the Sokoto ruling house under the leadership of Uthman bin Foduye emerged, while from the latter emerged the present Emirs of Katsina and Kano. See Abdurrahman I. Doi., 24-6.

ignorance of the masses concerning Islam as despite the presence of many scholars in Hausaland, traditional beliefs mixed with Islamic Shari'a.²⁴

To understand and appreciate the role of Uthman bin Foduye in reforming Nigerian society, it is significant to understand the various problems that guide him to develop his thought on his mission and the systematic approaches that he used in eliminating the problems. Uthman's approaches of transforming the society that changed the central Sudan comprise three areas namely, the spiritual, intellectual, and the deep teachings of Sufism. Uthman was an adherent of the Qādiriyyah. He never criticised it except what he felt deviated from the teachings of Islam. He, therefore, faulted scholars who supported rulers against blameworthy acts for their personal interest. In return, he received harassment and disgraceful attacks from scholars who supported the existing regime. Finally, he emerged victorious over his opponents²⁵ and established the Caliphate that survived up until the British colonisation of the region in the early 20th century. A Fulani Saint, 'Umm Han, prophesied his emergence before his appearance.²⁶ In her revelation, she mentioned his popularity including the title of those who would follow him as *Jamā'a* (community of his disciples).²⁷ The authenticities of 'Umm Hani's prophesy was testified by the realisation of historical facts that transpired in Ibn Foduye's life.

The sincerity that Uthman bin Foduye displayed in discharging his mission resulted in the establishment of Islamic government together with the assistance of his relatives and people of other tribes in Hausaland. To understand this, it is important to note that the Fulani from a tribe of nomad herdsmen who had become the governing race throughout the Hausa States. Similarly, as a man of honest faith and deep religious

²⁴ Abdullahi Adelabu. Retrieved on 2 May, 2015, from <http://www.EnsinIslam.com>.

²⁵ Ibrahim Sulaiman, A Revolution in History, 19.

²⁶ Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Maisūr fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Tukrūr*, ed. C. E. J Witting (London, npp, 1957), 28-9

²⁷ She was Umm Hani Bint Muhammad al-'Abdusi (d. 1455). See B. G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th –Century Africa* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University, Press, 1976), 26.

beliefs, Uthman had confidence in his Divine call, and his personality stimulated his followers with a confidence similar to his own. His modest habits and austere life made a profound contrast to the barbaric pomp affected by the pagan rulers. No soldier himself, he accredited his success solely to the hand of God.²⁸ Uthman bin Foduye, his brother and his son played crucial roles touring different parts of Hausaland while teaching and preaching with a sincere target of transforming the traditional political system of Hausaland into an Islamic government.

To understand more about Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the society and what eventually led him to launch *Jihād* against the rulers of Hausaland, it is important to note that Uthman, his brother Abdullah, and their son Bello are triumvirate in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. In fact, they were the Sokoto *Jihād* leaders. Undeniably, their mission is to guide the Muslims on how to perform their religious rites and to convert the non-Muslims to Islam. However, later events forced them to declare the *Jihād* of the sword, which subsequently brought to an end the Habe (non-Fulāni) kingdoms in the Hausaland, which were notoriously associated with numerous forms of injustices.²⁹

The above discussion explicates that it was probably the vast knowledge of the triumvirate, which influenced transforming their society to an Islamic one and to an Islamic government. It also understood that for any acts of changing or revolution, knowledge might be the most important requisite; otherwise, one cannot understand the core of Islamic teachings governing his actions. It also shows that Uthman bin Foduye's relatives played a pivotal role in the successful achievements of his goals. It is noteworthy that no civilisation whether in it is religious, social, cultural or political nature is established without the cooperation of the people. In this regard, Uthman bin

²⁸ Hogben & A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary of their Historical Traditions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 122-3.

²⁹ Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim, *The Concept and Application of Radd al-Mazalim in Historical Perspective: A case Study of Sokoto Caliphate* (Doctoral Thesis, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria, 2000), 179-80.

Foduye's methods of teaching and preaching towards winning the minds of the people of Hausaland is a key area in this study.

Conversely, Ibn Khaldun was a prolific Islamic scholar of sociology, history, and philosophy. He introduced a new concept called '*Umrān*'. According to Ibn Khaldun, '*Umrān*' is a social concept that deals with the social change or the organisation of human society and civilisation. Ibn Khaldun was a 14th-century scholar of North Africa. He was from a famous family distinguished in Islamic scholarship. He grew up to be a scholar concerned with the organisation of human society, its characteristic, and challenges. To understand Ibn Khaldun's '*Umrān*', it is pertinent to note that in the *Muqaddimah*, human social organisation or '*Umrān*' is observed "as an indispensable to man. In other words, man has to cooperate and consolidate himself with others in order to survive. Association and sociability are part of human nature. Survival does not only mean the search for basic needs but it also requires a man to organise themselves in a group to certify that each gets an adequate amount of what he requires for his own nourishment. In order to achieve this, he cannot strive his own and it is, therefore, natural for him to subordinate himself with the group. The reason for this is that it is well-known fact that man alone cannot get what he wants unless cooperated with other human beings".³⁰

Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' could not be understood without the interplay of '*ʿAsabiyyah*'. Therefore, it is crucial to note that the group feeling proposed by Ibn Khaldun is the central concept of his '*Umrān*', which he posited, influenced the rise and fall of dynasties and states.³¹ Thus, discussing '*Umrān*' is relevant to the past and modern period. Perhaps, it might be relevant from the period that Uthman bin Foduye organised himself with his relatives and others among the people of Hausaland to

³⁰ Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics* (Selangor, Malaysia: International Islamic University College, 2008), 142.

³¹ Asyiqin Abdul Halim and *et als*, "Ibn Khaldun's Theory of '*ʿAsabiyyah*' and its Application in Modern Muslim Society", *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research* 11 (9): 1232-1237, 2012 ISSN 1990-9233 © IDOSI Publications, 2012 DOI: 10.5829/idosi.mejsr.2012.11.09.227010.

change the traditional society to an Islamic one, up to the period of his final success which resulted in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate and its subsequent decline in 1903 by the colonial invasion. Accordingly, many things resembled the various facts in Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* as he (Ibn Khaldun) considered state/society starts as a child to become an adult then to die.

1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

One of the most difficult tasks that are yet to be clearly addressed by most researchers is the clear discussion of the nature of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*. This might be due to the lack of discussion on the various concepts related to its scope (*Ijtimā'*, *Ta'āwun*, and *Difā'*). Nevertheless, it also reveals that most of the authors addressed Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* as his theory instead of addressing it as his concept, despite the fact that theory and concept are interchangeable, but in reality, there are differences between them. A theory may be a concept but not all concepts are theory. Another important difference between the two is that the theory is something that has been worded, tested and proved; and possesses its own principles, while a concept has not. Therefore, Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* should be called the concept of *'Umrān*.

Ibn Khaldun did not argue that human society must according to his concept, but rather he sets out a guideline for the successful organisation and transformation of human societies and civilisation. To make the argument clear, it may say that all men are adults, but not all adults are married unless proven (when tested that yes they are married). Therefore, defining the terms contained in the study and conceptualised them becomes necessary to better understand the discussion.

1- Nigerian Society: By using this mixture of terms in this study, it signifies the pre-colonial Nigerian society especially Northern Nigeria. It is the main area where Uthman bin Foduye played a significant role changing the social, moral, economic and political

life of the people. Therefore, Nigerian society in this study may be interchangeable with Hausaland. Uthman bin Foduye made his contribution since before the colonial era were later divided the area into different regions. The main concern of this study is Northern Nigeria.

2- Evolutionary Period: In this study, evolutionary period indicates the gradual process that Uthman bin Foduye followed in changing society without fighting with the rulers of Hausaland. At the initial stage, it refers to the process that Uthman used towards winning the minds of his people through sound teaching, preaching, and writing.

3- Revolutionary Period: In this study, revolutionary period signifies the period in which Uthman bin Foduye turned his missionary activities to the act of fighting because he and his community undergone an attempted assassination by the rulers of Hausaland. Therefore, Uthman launched revolutionary *Jihād* against the rulers and successfully overthrew their government and established his Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate.

4- *‘Umrān*: Is a term, used by Ibn Khaldun to explain the organisation of human society and civilisation. It is a complex term for which many attempts have been made by various scholars, researchers, academics and students to translate and explain its meaning. Etymologically, the term *‘Umrān* is “an abstract substantive derived from the tripartite verb *‘-m-r* whose principal meanings are: (a) to live, inhabit, dwell, continue, and remain in a place; (b) to become inhabited, stocked, or cultivated (with people, animals. Or plants), to be in good repair, i.e., the contrary of desolation, waste, or ruin; and (c) to cultivate, build, institute, promote, observe, visit, or aim at, a thing or a place. The first two usages describe a place (various parts of the Earth, agricultural land, village, town, fortress, and parts thereof like a house or a marketplace), while the third refers to both places and abstract concepts, e.g., ‘to promote (or observe) the good

(‘*amara al-Khaīr*’”.³² If carefully considered, the meanings of the term in (a) and (b) seem to be in line with the Qur’anic perspectives, in which Almighty Allah says:

وإليّ ثمود أخاهم صالحا قال يا قوم اعبد الله مالكم من إله غيره هو
أنشأكم من الارض واستعمركم فيها فا استغفروه ثم توبوا إليه إنا ربي
قريب مجيب

And to Thamūd (people, We sent) their brother Ṣāliḥ (Saleh). He said “O my people! Worship Allah, you have no other *Ilāh* (God) but Him. He brought you forth from the earth and settled you therein, then asks forgiveness of Him and turn to Him in repentance. Certainly, my Lord is near (to all by His Knowledge), Responsive”.³³

As the word “استعمر” appeared in the verse is from “استمر” that is to settle (in), is synonymous with to dwell, to inhabit, to cultivate, etc. In addition, Muhsin Mahdi translated the term ‘*Umrān*’ as ‘culture’ because of its manifest correspondence between almost all the meanings of the Arabic verb root ‘-m-r and Latin *colo* from which *cultura* and English ‘culture’ are derived.³⁴ In another usage, the term ‘*Umrān*’ is translated as *Bunyān* (building; construction).³⁵ Meanwhile, in another literal sense, ‘*Umrān*’ means uninhibitedness, activity, and bustling life..., (As opposed to *kharab*); popularity and prosperity (of a country); culture, civilisation; building, edifice, structure. ‘*Umrān*’ it refers to cultural, civilizational, serving, or pertaining to cultural development.³⁶

In a technical sense, Fuad Baali argues that Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah* developed a theory of what he called ‘*ilm al-‘Umrān*’, which could be translated as the

³² Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon Part 5*. (Lebanon: Librairie Du Liban, 1968), pp. 2153-55; Dozy Supplement II 170-72.

³³ Qur’an, *Surah, Hud*, 11: 61.

³⁴ Muhsin Mahdi. *Ibn Khaldun’s Philosophy of History: A Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture* (Great Britain, London: Purnell & Sons Ltd (Poulton) Somerset & London, 1957), 184.

³⁵ Elias A. Elias, *Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English* (Cairo: Elias Modern Publishing House, 1994), 458.

³⁶ Cowan J. Milton, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)* (London: Macdonald and Evans Ltd, 1974), 643. See also Al-Mawrid: *A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Ilm LilMalayin), 780.

study of social organisation or civilisation.³⁷ Similarly, Muhammad Mahmud Rabi defined *ilm al-ʿUmrān* as the “science of human association or the science of culture”.³⁸ Moreover, Aziz Al-Azmeh highlights the different conceptions of the term *ʿUmrān*; therein he opines that *ʿilm al-ʿUmrān* has been identified with a great number of things, such among them includes, human society in general, urbanisation, civilisation, division of labour, and separation of power.³⁹ It has been considered as the science of social development, which underlies history, as the science of the human community in general. He, however, elucidates that, in addition, the science of *ʿUmrān* has been seen as consisting of a general theory of political change- the origin, progress, and end of dynasties, or in the influential account of Alfred von Kremer, as a history of civilisation”.⁴⁰ Finally, Mahmoud Dhaouadi stated that Ibn Khaldun’s *ʿilm al-ʿUmrān*, the new science, was designed to provide a better understanding of the history of Arab-Muslim societies. Its introduction, the *Muqaddimah*, has been interpreted by Muhammed Al-Jabri as an evolutionary analysis of human phenomena including an objective account of the supernatural. It is an account of the dynamics of Arab society explaining how and why things are as they are”.⁴¹

Due to the different definitions that various scholars have given to the term *ʿUmrān*, Dhaouadi mentioned the detailed definitions and classifications of what Muhammad Abid Al-Jabri gave to Ibn Khaldun’s *ʿilm al-ʿUmrān* within the range of contemporary social studies. He has this to say:

Contrary to the usual narrative of human events by the discipline of history, Ibn Khaldun’s new science (*ʿilm al-ʿUmrān*) attempts to explain the how and the why of human historical events. His aim was, thus, to

³⁷ Fuad Baali, *Society, State and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun’s Sociological Thought* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), 6.

³⁸ Muhammad Mahmud Rabi, *The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 23

³⁹ To know more about such great things, see page 139 under the discussion of the basic elements of *ʿUmrān*.

⁴⁰ Aziz Al-Azmeh *Ibn Khaldun in Modern Scholarship A Study in Orientalism*. (London: Third World Centre for Research and Publication, 1981), 164-165.

⁴¹ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, “Ibn Khaldun: The Founding Father of Eastern Sociology”. *International Sociology* September 1990 vol. 5 no. 3 319-335. Retrieved from: <http://iss.sagepub.com/content/5/3/319>. Accessed on 3 March 2016.

account for the acting out, particularly of the Arab-Islamic history up to the fourteenth century. It is in this sense that *‘ilm al-‘Umrān* is quite different from modern sociology. While the latter has a broad interest in the study of social phenomena at large, the former’s main focus is the study of the successions of the state and the Arab-Islamic history. Ibn Khaldun has hardly studied such microscopic phenomena like the family, the individual’s customs, the status of men and women, etc. His social thought can be described as vertical in nature rather than horizontal.⁴²

The above quotation of Al-Jabri seems to have limited the scope of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* by excluding some aspects related to the human societies. Contrary to his position, as per as Ibn Khaldun’s definition of the concept of *‘Umrān* is concerned, it may be said that the concept includes even more than what he tries to narrow. This is because the concept of *‘Umrān* deals with the active changes of not only the Arab-Muslim society of Ibn Khaldun’s time but also contemporary society. Therefore, since family and individual customs are part of the phenomena of human society, they fall within the scope of the concept.

To avoid inconsistency in this study, *‘Umrān* signifies the terminology used by Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah* as N. J. Dawood in the introduction of the book noted that “as soon as some social organisation is formed, ‘civilisation’ results. The Arabic word is derived from a root, which means ‘to build up, to develop, it also used by Ibn Khaldun in the further sense of ‘population’. Therefore, when a social organisation grows more populous, a larger and better *‘Umrān* results. This growth in numbers, with a corresponding growth in civilisation, culminates in the highest form of sedentary culture man can achieve”.⁴³

In the vocabulary of Ibn Khaldun, he called his new science of sociology as *al-‘Umrān* or *al-‘Ijtīmā’ al-Basharī*, which has been translated as the science of social organisation or society. His study of the nature of his society and social change led him to develop with what he observed as the new science of culture or civilisation, and

⁴² Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun’s Umrān Mind* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: A. S. Noordeen, 1997), 7-8.

⁴³ Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal Abridged and edited by N. J. Dawood) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), x-xi.

which he defined as “The science⁴⁴... has its own subject, viz., human society, and its own problems, viz., the social transformations that succeed each other in the nature of society”.⁴⁵ Taken together, based on the literal and technical meanings of the term, ‘*Umrān*’ and its main subject “the dynamic of human societies”, this study, intends to use the term to describe the initial stage of ‘how’ Uthman bin Foduye contributed in changing the Nigerian society into an Islamic society. Also ‘why’ he later overthrew the Kingdom of Hausaland and established his Islamic government. Therefore, despite the different meanings and purposes that have attributed to the term ‘*Umrān*’, the goal of this study is limited to understanding how and why Nigerian society assumed changes from one phase to another through the role played by Uthman bin Foduye.

5- *Ijtimāʿ*: literally means “meeting (with someone; of a corporate body; of parliament); get-together, gathering, assembly; re-union; rally; convention; conjunction... life in a social group, community life, social life; al-*Ijtimāʿ* human society”.⁴⁶ In a broader sense, *Ijtimāʿ* means a “(thing in a scattered or dispersed state, or a number of men) became collected, brought together, gathered together, gathered up, assembled, congregated... so that the several parts or portions become near (or close) together”.⁴⁷ As has been seen the meaning of ‘*Umrān*’, hence, *Ijtimāʿ* is one of the components that Ibn Khaldun used to explain how ‘*Umrān*’ developed. Therefore, the term in this study is used to show how Uthman bin Foduye gradually and finally organised his community (*Jamāʿ*) on the process of changing the Nigerian society.

6- *Taʿāwun*: according to the al-Mawrid dictionary means “cooperation, collaboration, mutual assistance, working together, joining forces, uniting of efforts, rally(ing); synergism, synergy, cooperative action, combined action... in a short sentence: بالتعاون

⁴⁴ It clearly means ‘ilm al-‘*Umrān*.

⁴⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 42.

⁴⁶ Cowan J. Milton, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)* (London: Macdonald and Evans Ltd, 1974), 136.

⁴⁷ Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon Part 5.*, 456.

مع which means in cooperation or collaboration with”.⁴⁸ Thus, this is another most important component of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umrān*, which used to show the successful organisation and transformation of ‘*Umrān*, hence, without this component, a society could not be organised. Therefore, in this study, the term is used to show the maximum cooperation that Uthman bin Foduye received from different people of Hausaland in supporting and accepting him as a leader towards achieving his aims in changing the society based on Islamic tenets. It might be assumed that without their cooperation, he could not successfully change the society to an established Islamic state.

7- *Difā’* means “defence, protection, guarding, shielding, sheltering, safeguarding, safekeeping, maintenance, keeping and vindication, etc”.⁴⁹ This is the final element of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umrān*, which shows the purpose of organisation of human society and how society defends its members. In this study, the term is used to show how Uthman bin Foduye defended his community from the oppression of the rulers of Hausaland, and how he protected their natural rights that have been violated by the rulers of the said land.

8- *Badawī*: is a relative noun “signifying the dwelling, or abiding, in the desert”.⁵⁰ However, in a broader sense, Bruce B. Lawrence argues that Ibn Khaldun used the term *Badāwah* to explain the transformation of people life from a rural society to urban society, which results in the emergence of world civilisation ‘*Umrān*. It shows that desert civilisation served as a first stage or condition of what later produced sedentary civilisation. This clearly depicts the linguistic meaning of the terms “*Mubtada‘wa al-Khabar*” as Ibn Khaldun used in the title of his *Kitāb al-‘Ibār*.⁵¹ In a cyclical theory of Ibn Khaldun, Umrān (human social organisation), in its formation, begins in a simple

⁴⁸ Rohi Baalbaki, *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary*. (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Ilm LilMalayin), 335.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 545.

⁵⁰ Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon Part 5.*, 170.

⁵¹ Bruce B. Lawrence, Introduction to Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* Bruce B. Lawrence (The Classic Islamic History of the World). Trnas.Franz Rosenthal (United States of America: Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, 1967), xix.

society, then transforming to a high stage of civilisation and finally to decline.⁵² In this study, the term is used to show that Uthman bin Foduye and his community were first settled in a village of Degel before the subsequent establishment of the Islamic state. It should be noted that the term is not used in this study to show whether Uthman society is civilised or not, which contradicts Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* as the details can be seen later.

9- *Haḍarī*: according to the al-Mawrid dictionary means “civilised, civilizational; cultural”, it is also referred to as *Madanī* which literally means: urbanite, townsman, city or town dweller, citizen, urban, urbanised, citified, city dwelling, town-dwelling; civilised”.⁵³ In reality, Ibn Khaldun used the term to show the nature of the lie of people dwelling in a city.⁵⁴ Therefore, in this study, the term is only used on to show how Uthman bin Foduye was finally established his centre of an Islamic government in the city of Sokoto. It bears in mind that the term never in any way in this study translated to mean Uthman bin Foduye and his community civilised by the time that the Islamic state established.⁵⁵

10- *'Aṣabiyyah*: is linguistically “derived from the root *'asab*’ which signifies ‘to tie’ people in groups. *'Uṣbatun*’ or *'Isabatun*’ are also derivatives of the same root, which signifies a group (*majmū'ah*). It demands unity of thought and actions against desires, wishes and wants, no matter be it right or wrong”.⁵⁶ This definition seems to be in line with the Qur'ānic perspective, in which Allah says:

When they said: “Truly, Yusuf (Joseph) and his brother (Benjamin) are loved more by our father than we, but we are *'Usbah* (a strong group). Really, our father is in a plain error.”⁵⁷

⁵² Muhammad Abdullah Enan. *Ibn Khaldun: His Life and Work* (Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946), 88.

⁵³ Rohi Baalbaki, *Al-Mawrid.*, 475.

⁵⁴ Bruce B. Lawrence, *Introduction to, Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah*, 91.

⁵⁵ For more details about this fact, see pages 183-3 of this study.

⁵⁶ Shukri Farhat Yousof, *Mu'jam al-Tullab*. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmaniyyah, 2005), np.

⁵⁷ Qur'an, *Surah, Yusuf* 12: 8.

Franz Rosenthal, the first English translator of the entire *Muqaddimah*, interprets the word '*Asabiyyah*', in a simultaneous imprecise and unsatisfying manner; rendering it as a "group feeling".⁵⁸ Also, Syed Omar bin Syed Agil⁵⁹ argues that in view of Ibn Khaldun, throughout the development and progress of society two requirements influence the condition of the society: '*Aṣabiyyah*' and religious consciousness.

In other words, the term '*Aṣabiyyah*' due to its Arabic nature, many attempts have made by various scholars to translate and find its exact meaning in English. Nevertheless, there is no common acceptable definition of the term, but some of the most common terms used to refer to it are 'solidarity', 'esprit de corps', 'group cohesion', 'group feeling', and 'social solidarity'. Mahmoud Dhaouadi noted that due to the difficulty of its interpretations, many scholars have suggested that it is more appropriate to keep the Arabic concept of *Al-Aṣabiyyah* as Ibn Khaldun used.⁶⁰ However, Dhaouadi stated that Mohammed Al-Jabri, a great Moroccan thinker, gives new perception on the concept of '*Aṣabiyyah*'. According to Al-Jabri, the meaning as used by Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah* is quite different from its meaning modern sociology. According to Al-Jabri, Ibn Khaldun hardly dealt with '*Aābiyyah*' as a social web that organised the relationships between individuals and tribes. He (Al-Jabri) had instead, examined '*Aṣabiyyah*' regarding its role as a defence mechanism for the tribal entity and its interest. Hence, for Ibn Khaldun, the role of '*Aṣabiyyah*' in rural society is equivalent to the role played by a fortress or guarding armies, to the cities. As such, the author of the *Muqaddimah* quietly looks at '*Aṣabiyyah*' from the external and not the

⁵⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, xv.

⁵⁹ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics* (Kajang, Selangor, Malaysia: International Islamic University College, 2008), 142.

⁶⁰ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān Mind*, 12.

internal:⁶¹ *‘Aṣabiyyah* as a defensive or confrontational force used by tribes in tribal society. It is, therefore, externally oriented.⁶²

Similarly, *‘Aṣabiyyah*, as Fida Mohammad contended is “a ‘we feeling’ among people, which is the utmost base and a fundamental criterion for the survival of any political or a social organisation. It is not just group solidarity; it is the merged effect of the group solidarity with a political determination to power and organised leadership”.⁶³ On the other hand, commenting on the term *‘Aṣabiyyah*, Bruce B. Lawrence in his introduction to the new edition, 2005 of Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah*, declared that *‘Aṣabiyyah* is the main coinage or new invention penetrating all of Ibn Khaldun’s work. He, however, proclaims that Franz Rosenthal translates it universally as ‘group feeling’. Some have criticised that standardised rendition of *‘Aṣabiyyah*, considering it too static and natural an English equivalent of what remains for Ibn Khaldun a variable pinned between the state (*dawlah*) and religion (*dīn*). Muhammad Talbi, for instance, defines *‘Aṣabiyyah* as “at one and the same time the cohesive force of the group, the conscience that it has its specificity and collective aspirations, and the tension that animates it and impels it ineluctably to seek power through conquest. The last element the drive to power through conquest seems to fall outside the juridical realm unless one realises that the law also is an instrument of power, whether through persuasion or domination”.⁶⁴

Despite the various definitions of the term *‘Aṣabiyyah*, it is noted that the term is the central concept of Ibn Khaldun’s *‘Umrān*. Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* cannot be explained fully without the presence of the concept of *‘Aṣabiyyah*. Thus, in all the components of *‘Umrān* and its two types (*‘Umrān* Badawī and Ḥaḍarī), *‘Aṣabiyyah* is the key. In sum, the term in this study is used to explain the role of *Asabiyyah* through

⁶¹ This silently signifies that *‘Aṣabiyyah* in the views of Ibn Khaldun is the one that organise members of tribal society for the defence of any unready attacks. This shows that this *‘Aṣabiyyah* has nothing to do with the internal defence for biological relations.

⁶² Ibid., 13.

⁶³ Mohammad Fida, “Ibn Khaldun’s theory of social change: A comparison with Hegel, Marx and Durkheim”. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 15, AMSS and IIIT, Virgine.

⁶⁴ Bruce Lawrence, xv.

blood relations, tribes and of religion to Uthman bin Foduye's success in changing the Nigerian society to an established Islamic government.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

With a view to examining the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' for the possibility of its relevance in Uthman's contribution, this research has the following objectives:

- 1- To investigate Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society towards success.
- 2- To examine the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' in changing the society.
- 3- To expose the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*'.
- 4- To analyse the common background between the thought of Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun particularly on the factors responsible for the decline of states/ societies and dynasties.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1- How did Uthman bin Foduye's contribution change the Nigerian society?
- 2- Is Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' relevant in changing the society?
- 3- In what way could Uthman bin Foduye's contribution be understood by applying Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*'?
- 4- How does Uthman bin Foduye's thought resemble Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' particularly on the decline of states/societies and dynasties?

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The rationale behind this study is based on an idea that developed from a conference paper presented by the researcher on a topic pertaining to the nature of Uthman bin Foduye's *Da'wah* (religious calling) in changing the Nigerian society. This idea triggered enthusiasm in the research topic. The intent of this study is, therefore, to examine the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye from the initial stage through the various processes employed in changing the Nigerian society from a traditional society to establishing an Islamic government. Although various authors and academics contributed in analysing issues relating to Uthman bin Foduye on different aspects, the details of what influenced Uthman bin Foduye initially developed the idea and the methods used to get the cooperation of his community in changing the society have been largely overlooked. Contemporary scholars incline to study the cyclical theory of Ibn Khaldun and demonstrate it in relations to the rise and fall of the Sokoto Caliphate; nevertheless, it was not enough due to the lack of detailed discussion from the initial stage that Uthman bin Foduye started playing his role in changing the society to the time that established the Caliphate. It is finally observed that attempts to compare and trace the common background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun have been limited, despite the fact that Uthman bin Foduye has been influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought in different places in his writings. This study is an attempt to fill the gaps.

1.6 RESEARCH PROBLEMS

In this study, the researcher examines that Uthman bin Foduye was a prolific religious scholar in Hausaland (Northern Nigeria) who grew up with the zeal of changing the ailing society, which characterised with various problems in religion, economic, social, and political life of the people. Hence, how he started whether it is peacefully or confrontational is absent. Moreover, Hausaland where Uthman bin Foduye emerged was characterised with idols worship, superstitions, heresies, immoral act of mixing men and

women, violation of natural right of the people, injustice, oppression, corruption and political instability, and tribal conflict. Perhaps, this is the main objection of Uthman bin Foduye with the then traditional rulers of the Hausaland.

Uthman bin Foduye studied different sciences that influenced his intellectual, ethical and military strategy in changing the religious, social, moral and political system of the land by establishing Islamic government. With the demise of Uthman bin Foduye, various challenges contributed to the decline of the Islamic government and its final collapse to British colonisation. Many researchers only address the external factors by concealing the internal factors. Another major problem that encouraged this study is the way that some of the authors particularly the Nigerian Christians authors link the origin of Islamic radicalism in Nigeria to Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the society, especially authors on Boko Harām. Their arguments focused on why Uthman bin Foduye overthrew the political system of Hausaland despite the fact they are Muslims.⁶⁵

Ibn Khaldun should be understood through the context of his concept of social organisation and transformation of human society ('Umrān). This is because he vividly outlines various forces responsible for the successful organisation and transformation of human societies and how it is changing from one stage to another as well as the various negative courses of its decline.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review is a description of what has been published on a topic by qualified scholars and researchers.⁶⁶ Moten stated that among the ways of the good strategy of constructing a literature review is (after collecting, scanning, and reading the literature) is to condense the findings of in books or articles and compare it to other literature. In

⁶⁵ For more details about this issue, see pp. 40 & 111 of this study.

⁶⁶ Dena Taylor, "The Literature Review: A Few Tips on Conducting It" (Canada: University of Toronto). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/specific-types-of-writing/literature>.

view of Moten, this summary of descriptive information should be provided by paraphrasing their major findings and by illustrating, if necessary, with few, short quotations.⁶⁷ Additionally, in conducting a good literature review, Neuman has pointed out that “one must be selective, comprehensive, critical, and current. Being selective, one should not list everything ever written on a topic, only the most relevant studies. Being comprehensive, one should include past studies that are highly relevant and should not omit any important ones. He further illustrates that one should review theoretical issues and disputes, investigate the methods previous researchers used, and summarise the findings, highlighting any gaps or inconsistencies. An evaluation of past studies can help one to justify the importance of conducting the current study”.⁶⁸ Given the above, a number of books, academic research and articles have been written on this topic. It is important that literature relating to the topic be reviewed in order to examine and identify the relevance and gaps in the literature. Thus, in order to maintain consistency and comprehensiveness in reviewing the literature, it would be in sequence.

1.7.1 Literature dealing with the Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Changing Nigerian Society

The rationale for selecting the literature is to provide adequate information to form a clear picture of what influenced Uthman to think of changing his traditional society into an Islamic one, and the approaches that he used to achieve his goal.

It begins by referring to Uthman bin Foduye’s writings⁶⁹ to determine his thought on societal change. A reading shows that public ignorance of Islam and because the rulers’ persecution against the people of Hausaland inspired his reforms. He divided the land into the land of believers and nonbelievers, in which he finally considered the

⁶⁷ Abdul Rashid Moten. *Writing Research Proposals & Theses Substance, Structure and Style*. (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Prentice Hall Pearson, 2009), 41-42.

⁶⁸ Lawrence W. Neuman. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th edition) (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2011), 136-7.

⁶⁹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān ‘alā ahwāl ar-al-Sudan (Informing Brothers on the Position of the People in Sudan Areas)*, in *Selected Writings of Sheikh Othman bn Fodiyo Vol.3* edited and translated by Adamu Bala & Suleiman Musa (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra’ Publishing House, 2013).

rulers of the Hausaland as infidels because of mixing Islam with traditions. Similarly, this book shows Uthman's expertise in the history of *Bilād al-Sudan* (West Africa). At the end of this book, Uthman indicates that he migrated from the territory of Hausa rulers for the safety of his community and his mission. The book is critical about the ruler's persecution to the Fulani people. Attempts have been made by the rulers to stop Uthman from achieving his goal to change the society. This literature made a significant contribution to this research. Nevertheless, it did not provide detailed information about the methods that Uthman used to invite people, and how his knowledge influenced him.

Similarly, another contribution is Uthman bin Foduye's *Reviving the Sunnah and Suppressing the Innovation*.⁷⁰ In this book, which is considered his *magnum opus*, it categorizes the people that he wanted to reform in Hausaland. He meant by this book to teach people not to invent evil spirits in their social lives. This book denotes that the philosophy of Uthman's mission is to establish an Islamic society that people do what Allah loves. Although, the book does not explore on how Uthman received the cooperation of his people towards accepting his mission of changing the traditional society of Hausaland to Islamic society, it clearly provides an important discussion on how someone purify his faith to the Oneness of Almighty Allah.

Prior to the advent of Uthman bin Foduye, the inhabitants of Hausaland comprised both Muslims and non-Muslims. Among the Muslims, there were those who practice Islam with different beliefs system (that is to say, those who were worshipping idols, trees, stones, and spirits), relevant material in this regard is Uthman bin Foduye's *Nūṛul al-Bāb, and Tamyīz al-Muslimīn min' al-Kāfirīn*.⁷¹ In this book, the author classified the entire Hausa society into three namely, pure Muslims who observed Islam very strictly and did not venerate any object; pure non-Muslims who did not accept

⁷⁰ Uthman bin Foduye, *Reviving the Sunnah and Suppressing the Innovation*, Vol 1, translated by Abdul-Hafeez Isma'il Ojoye & et als, (edt) by A. B. Yahya (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House, 2013).

⁷¹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Nūṛul al-Bāb, and Tamyīz al-Muslimīn min' al-Kāfirīn*, transl. by Jafar Kaura

Islam; and Muslims who mixed Islam with the veneration of trees and rocks. In addition, Uthman bin Foduye⁷², made a similar contribution regarding the divisions of Hausa people while he was manifesting his mission of changing the society. All these books indicate the factors that called the attention of Uthman bin Foduye to bring change in Hausaland.

In a similar contribution made by Uthman bin Foduye, in his book, *The Book of the Differences between Government of the Believers and Non-Believers*⁷³ explains his thought on Muslim and non-Muslim government. In this text, he clearly sets out the qualities that distinguish Muslim government from non-Muslim governments. He opines that the prevailing reasons that lead to the collapse of the state or dynasty were injustice, heavy taxation, corruption, and confiscation of property. In it (the book), Uthman bin Foduye criticises the un-Islamic political system of the Hausaland and indicates the need for change. This book is entirely with the traditional system of the leadership of the government of Hausaland, which Uthman intended to bring change and subsequently encountered serious accusations and attacks by venal scholars. Nevertheless, he succeeded, although the details of how he succeeded are not clear. Despite that, the book is important to this study as it portrays Uthman bin Foduye's political thought.

Corruption is one of the predominant problems of the rulers of Hausaland; M. G. Smith⁷⁴ is a good reference in this context. In his article, the author comprehensively outlines various terms for political corruption in Hausaland. He explains that Hausa people did not have a single term used for corruption. He shows that corruption started

⁷² Uthman bin Foduye, *Hukm Juhhāl Bilād Hausa* (Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland), in Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 1. edited and translated by A.B. Yahya & Yasi Islam Nabingo (Gada-Biyu, Gusa, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House, 2013).

⁷³ Uthman bin Foduye, *The Book of the Differences between Government of the Believers and Non-Believers*, tran. And ed. Hiskett M., Sokoto State government.

⁷⁴ M. G. Smith "Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption among the Hausa". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jan. 1964), 164. Retrieved March 24, 2015, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/177905>.

in Hausaland before the time of Uthman bin Foduye up to the 20th century. The author elucidates that Hausaland comprises Fulani and Hausa people. The latter are pagans and the former comprise one-third of the population, and they are majority Muslims. He, however, explains that since 1810, with the subsequent success of the *Jihād* launched by Uthman bin Foduye against the political instability of Hausaland in 1804, the Fulani had assumed the power of all major states of Hausaland. This book, while shedding light on one of the major factors that influenced Uthman to bring change in Hausaland, did not show how he contributed to the successful change of the problem, notwithstanding, the importance of the book to this study is countless.

Regarding the people targeted by his reforms, Uthman explains it in his *Ifhām al-Munkirīn alyya fīma Āmuru al-Nās 'wamā anhāhun ānh*.⁷⁵ This book attempts to change the false claims of a venal scholar whom he challenged. It demonstrates his approach to engaging them. However, the details of the approaches used by Uthman to convince them remain unclear.

Ali A. Allawai⁷⁶ observed the change assumed by Uthman bin Foduye and the keen system of his Islamic scholarship in West Africa. Their spread into the Sahara brought the Fulani in contact with pagan and semi-Islamised tribes, which led to the *Jihād* of the Uthman bin Foduye (1754-1817) in the 18th and 19th centuries. The author further mentions that Uthman bin Foduye never travelled to Mecca or Cairo for his religious education, drawing instead on the Sufi networks of the Sahara to which he belonged. Uthman's preaching in Hausaland generated tensions with local rulers, which led to his call for a *Jihād* in 1804. Despite the fact that this book is important to this study, it did not detail the role played by Uthman bin Foduye in overthrowing the traditional government of Hausaland.

⁷⁵ Uthman bin Foduye, *Ifhām al-Munkirīn alyya fīma Āmuru al-Nās 'wamā anhāhun 'anh*. (Cairo, np: 1959)

⁷⁶ Ali A. Allawai, *The Crisis of Islamic Civilisation* (London: Yale University Press, 2009).

The foregoing literature played a vital role in detailing the basic factors that encouraged Uthman to instigate change in Hausaland. Abdullahi bin Foduye⁷⁷ adds to this literature by detailing the educational background of Uthman bin Foduye, including the names of Uthman's teachers. The book describes his intellectual capacity and how he studied under his brother, Uthman bin Foduye. Many references have been made to this book. However, the book does not detail Uthman's teaching and preaching methods towards changing the Nigerian society; rather it sketches how Uthman's teachers influenced him remarkably for the societal change in both evolutionary and revolutionary methods. In a similar contribution, Abdullahi bin Foduye, in his *'Idā al-Nusūkh*,⁷⁸ describes that Uthman studied a wide variety of Islamic sciences, which qualified him as a religious scholar.

Yusuf M. Adamu⁷⁹ argued that Uthman bin Foduye and his team empowered themselves intellectually before embarking on educating the masses to practice pure Islam. In his argument, the author maintains that it is hard to find any major work on the Sokoto Caliphate (the established Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye) which failed to refer to its intellectual tradition. In his inquiries, the author discovered that the mission of Uthman and that of his community was not only to spread learning but for a higher goal of establishing justice in society. This book indicates that Uthman was Islamically educated to change his society. Although, the author does not detail the methods of Uthman's teaching and preaching and how he trains his students to subscribe to his ideas.

For understanding the role played by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society and mobilising the people of Hausaland to join his community,

⁷⁷ Abdullahi bin. Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*. (1813/1228), M. Hiskett (ed.) (I.U.P., 1963).

⁷⁸ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *'Idā al-Nusūkh*. Edited and Trans. Hiskett M. (Zaria, Nigeria: Northern Region Literature Agency, 1958).

⁷⁹ Yusuf M. Adamu. "Learning Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate: Legacies and Challenges" in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*. Vol 2, H. Bobboyi & A. M. (ed.) Yakubu. (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University 2006).

Muhammad Bello⁸⁰ provides a detailed history of the origin of *Bilād al-Sudan*. The author mentions the various literature produced by his father, Uthman bin Foduye. In it, he mentions the nature of people ignorant about Islam in Hausaland. In addition, Bello describes how his father played a crucial role in inviting pagan people to the pure religion of Islam. It was in this book that Bello explains the systematic approaches of his father's teachings and preaching. Initially, it shows that his approach was in a polite manner without any confrontation. The importance of this literature to this study is evident.

In addition to the evolutionary approach of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society, it is therefore, revealed that Uthman in his missionary activities played a vital role as a teacher and at the same times a preacher. His book *Tanbīḥ al-Ikhwān*⁸¹ served as an important treatise to this research. In this text, the author indicates that mixing of men and women is forbidden in Islam by consensus. It was in this book that the author consciously separated between the two sexes in his teachings and preaching. It presents the obligations of women education in Islam and shows the method of Uthman's teaching by separating the two sexes. Although a similar contribution in this respect is Sambo Wali Junaidu⁸² who elucidated the philosophy of Uthman bin Foduye's missionary activities. In it, the author explains the type of society that Uthman wanted to establish in Hausaland. According to Sambo, Uthman's philosophy is to establish an Islamic society similar to that of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs. That is why he began by educating society on proper ways of worship, separating them from un-Islamic practices intermingled with Islam which is harmful to

⁸⁰ Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Maysūr fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Tukrūr*, C. E.J Whitting (ed.), London, 1951.

⁸¹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Tanbīḥ al-Ikwān 'ala Jawāz ittikhāz al-Majlis li ajli Ta'lim al-Niswān 'ilm Furūd al-'a'yān min Dīn Allah Ta'āl al-Rahmān*, Bukhari Sokoto (ed.) (Sokoto: Nigeria).

⁸² Sambo Wali Junaid, "The Islamic Concept of Leadership and its Application in the Sakkwato Caliphate", A Paper Presented at the Conference of 'Ulama organized to Commemorate the Two hundred years of Sokoto Caliphate (Sokoto, Nigeria: Attahiru Bafarawa Institute of Qur'anic and General Studies, 2004), 1.

Islam and borders unbelief. This article indicates that Uthman's tactics are to establish an Islamic society in Nigeria.

Furthermore, J. Hogben makes a remarkable statement that reveals the main purpose of Uthman's societal change.⁸³ In this book, the author describes the history of Islamic states in Northern Nigeria, in which, he asserted that the person who changed the history of *Bilād al-Sudan* was Uthman bin Foduye. The author puts it clearly that the purpose of such reformation is to remove the traditional system of the leadership of Hausa rulers and to reform the Islamic way of life, which includes not only moral behaviour but the political institution and system of law. Surprisingly enough, the author discovered that the first purpose received the support of non-Muslims as well as Muslims, and of Hausa people as well as Fulani. He, therefore, pointed out that Uthman began his teaching career in the main areas of Hausaland.

With respect to the sources of Uthman bin Foduye's teachings and preaching, a vital reference is Muhammad Jameel.⁸⁴ In this article, the author mentioned that the most significant reference to Uthman's teaching is the Glorious Qur'ān and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH). He also mentioned that Uthman was concerned for the ignorant people in his society, particularly scholars who leave their wives and children in a state of ignorance without instructing them about Islam. He also illustrates that Uthman encouraged teaching men and women, even though he separates in teaching them. Yet, what Uthman was teaching them and how the methods used are not mentioned in this literature.

⁸³ J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

⁸⁴ Muhammda Jameel, "Danfodio's Islamic Reform and the Lessons for British Muslims," Lewisham & Kent Islamic Centre, 2004.

Additionally, Gwandu⁸⁵ in his paper on the vision and mission of Abdullahi bin Foduye, brother of Uthman, pointed out that Uthman bin Foduye and those who supported his mission, because of their huge Islamic scholarship realised that the society they were living in had to change in order to allow the Islamic faith to be practised freely and properly. With their good intention, the author describes that they tried various peaceful means of bringing about the change, including attempts to educate the masses, but the rulers of Hausaland attacked them. The account of this paper is of great importance to this research, but the details of other means of changing society that Uthman and his people resorted to are limited.

In a similar contribution, Ibrahim Sulaiman⁸⁶ highlights the model of Uthman's life. The author elucidates that Uthman's sole motivation is the Glorious Qur'ān and the Sunnah of His Prophet (PBUH). The author also said it is amazing how relevant the Uthman's teachings are, despite the clear difference in both time and environment, to the situation of so many Muslims in the world today and the solution to many of its problems.

In respect to Uthman's writings as part of his intellectual factor in changing the Nigerian society, various scholars, researchers, and academics have attempted to number the works he wrote. Uthman bin Foduye wrote a number of books and composed many poems both in Hausa, Arabic, and Fulfulde. Bologun, S. U. offers an important explanation that is relevant to this research.⁸⁷ According to the author, Uthman bin Foduye was a prolific author who wrote many books that have not all been

⁸⁵ Abubakar A. Gwandu. "The Vision and Mission of Shaykh Abdullahi Fodio", in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*. Vol. 2, H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu (ed.) (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, 2006).

⁸⁶ Ibrahim Sulaiman, *The African Caliphate: The Life, Works and Teaching of Shaykh Uthman Bin Foduye (1754-1817)* (London: Diwan Press, 2009).

⁸⁷ Bologun S.U., "Arabic Intellectualism in Africa: The Role of Sokoto Caliphate" *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*. Vol. vi. No.2, London, 1985, 397.

identifiable.⁸⁸ He alone produced nothing less than one hundred and twenty books. On the other hand, the list of works written by bin Foduye has a lot of discrepancy up till today, but in most cases, they have been numbered to be over two hundred.

Another relevant material in this context is written by Ismael A. B. Bololgun.⁸⁹ The author opines that the first of such attempts is the list of twenty-eight works recorded by Uthman bin Foduye's son and successor, Muhammad Bello, in his *Infāq al-Māisūr*. At the end of the list, Muhammad Bello says that there are other books by his father, which exceed a hundred in number. Ismael Bologun mentioned that Uthman's son in his book mentioned twenty-eight works credited to his father. Nevertheless, he does not list them. Despite the twenty-eight works mentioned by Balogun, the researcher's inquiries have justified they are twenty-five works recorded by Uthman bin Foduye's son. Knowing the numbers of his books is not the goal of this study, hence, the main purpose is to know the extent of his intellectual capacity in changing the society. Nonetheless, the book is relevant to this study.

Furthermore, it is significant to note that some of Uthman's works have been edited and translated into English. Others remain in the form of manuscripts. Although, in addition to that, Uthman bin Foduye's works in Hausa and Fulfulde are yet not edited

⁸⁸ This was due to the fact that numerous of Uthman's books have been printed privately and most of them are usually unedited and thus have the status of manuscripts. See Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, xxix. To know more about why some of the Uthman bin Foduye's books are unidentifiable, it is so vital to understand that many of Uthman's shorter works were mere abstracts of some sections of the larger ones or abridgement of them. This indicates that some of Uthman's books were originally summarised from sections and sub-chapters of his larger book. To understand this, the pamphlet *Kitāb Bayān al-Bida' al-Shayṭaniyya* is identical, in many respects, to the *bid'a* section of *Ihyā' al-Sunna wa Ikḥmād al-Bld'a*. Again, his *Naṣā'ih al-Umma al-Mu'ammadiyyah* is similar to the section of the *Ihyā' al-Sunna wa Ikḥmād al-Bid'a* headed *Tanbihat*. Another pamphlet, *Wathīqat al-Ikhwan li-Tabyīn Dalīlāt Wujūb Ittibā' al-Kitāb wa al-Sunna wa al-Ijma' wa Dalīl Ijtihād al-Bid'a* corresponds largely to the *Nūr al-Albāb*. In addition, Yusuf M. Adamu has attempted to justify the reasons for the inaccessibility of Uthman bin Foduye's books and his associates in his article, *Learning and Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate*. In the text of this article, the writer emphasises that the primary text, the Hausa translations of the books and poems written by Uthman bin Foduye and his associates are not available, even those were translated by Malam Isa Talata Mafara and published by the History Bureau Sokoto are not in circulation. See Yusuf M. Adamu, *Learning and Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate: Legacies and Challenges in The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, vol. 2, H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (ed.) (Kaduna, Arewa House: Ahmadu Bello University, 2006), 382.

⁸⁹ Ismael A. B. Bologun, *The Life and Work of Uthman Bin Foduye: The Reformer of West Africa* (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publication Bureau, 1975), 98.

and published. Notwithstanding, an important work to be mentioned in this context is by Ahmad Tahir.⁹⁰ His thesis titled *The Social Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Fūdī: A Critical and Analytical Study* views that Uthman's writing meant to change the traditional system of Hausaland religiously, economically and politically. He further discovered that it also meant to reform and response to the challenges of venal scholars. The thesis is relevant to this research despite focusing on Uthman's social writings.

With regard to the revolutionary approach of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the society, the military factor is a key to his success in the establishment of an Islamic government. Therefore, the *Jihad* and *Hijrah* of Uthman is of great significance. His *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'alal 'ibād*⁹¹ outlines the compulsion of *Hijrah* from the lands of unbelievers to the lands of believers because the Muslims (he and his community) were banned from practising their religion as provided by the Shari'a. In this book, the author's primary concern is to convince his *Jamā'a* (community) that to carry arms is an act of Sunnah in order to fight against the un-Islamic government. The author describes that Hausa Kings were no longer Muslims; therefore, fighting them was permitted in Islam. This literature, of course, dealt with the critical issues of Uthman's *Jihād* to the rulers of Hausaland, which led to the overthrow of their government by Uthman bin Foduye.

Marvyn Hiskett's *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman Dan Fodio (Islam and Society in Africa)*⁹² sketches the history of the emergence of the revolutionary movement in Hausaland at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century. He describes that the movement brought about significant changes not only in Northern Nigeria but also in Africa. The successful *Jihād* led by Uthman bin Foduye to change

⁹⁰ Ahmad Tahir. *The Social Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Fūdī: A Critical and Analytical Study* (PhD Thesis, Canada: McGill University, 1989).

⁹¹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'alal 'ibād*, ed. And trans. By F. H. El-Masri (Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, 1978).

⁹² Marvyn Hiskett. *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman Dan Fodio (Islam and Society in Africa)*. (United States: Northwestern University Press, 1994).

Hausa society had an influential impact on the history of the region. On the other hand, Abdullahi Hakim Quick⁹³ noted that the Sokoto *Jihād* of 1804 produced a powerful Islamic government in Hausaland. Hence, the Hausa society witnessed unprecedented Islamic scholars and thinkers who excelled and connected with each other in classical Arabic and produced a number of works that are still in existence in today's West Africa, with Uthman bin Foduye the leading figure among them. This thesis concerns the social life of Hausa society but it did little to help the researcher to understand how the *Jihād* accomplished.

Since Uthman bin Foduye belongs to the Toronkawa Fuani group, it is essential to know how much they are so consolidated. Meek's *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census*⁹⁴ elaborates on the nature of group solidarity of various tribes of Northern Nigeria. The author discovered that the Fulani consolidated, and they are more obedient to the eldest family among them regarding any matter for adjudication. He observed that they united despite the fact that they have natural habits of migration from one place to another. The work implies how much the Fulani value common solidarity of tribes since their interest is to find a pastoral place in which they can feed their animals. This clearly shows the social cohesion of the Fulani tribes of Uthman bin Foduye.

In a similar fashion, Alan Burns⁹⁵ described the history of Nigeria, in which he discovered that the existence of Islam in the country since an earlier time had contributed to the establishment of Uthman bin Foduye's Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate.

⁹³ Abdullahi Hakim Quick. *Aspects of Islamic Social Intellectual History in Hausaland: Uthman bin Fudi, 1774-1804* (PhD Thesis, Canada: University of Toronto, 1995).

⁹⁴ C. K. Meek. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census*. (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1971).

⁹⁵ Alan Burns. *History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1972).

Abdul Azim Islahi,⁹⁶ despite being highlighting the economic ideas of Uthman bin Foduye, asserts that his revolution is unprecedented in the history of Africa. Its impact on the development of socio-economic of West Africa is far-reaching in the region. Uthman bin Foduye is a great personality in the history of *Bilād al-Sudan*. He produced a literature dealing with oppositions to economic evils in Hausaland. In his dissertation, Usman Bugaje⁹⁷ declared that West Africa in the 18th and 19 centuries witnessed a series of revolutionary movements that brought extreme social-political changes that lasted until the colonial invasion of the region, among which the revolution of Uthman bin Foduye has been the most influential. This work comprehensively sketches the methods, contents, and impact of Uthman bin Foduye's teachings and preaching in Hausaland.

1.7.2 Literature dealing with the Establishment of Islamic Government: The Sokoto Caliphate

Regarding the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, Hamza and Isa Maishanu's *The Jihad and the Formation of the Sokoto Caliphate*⁹⁸ provides detailed information about the initial factors that gave birth to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. The article reveals that it was based on injustice, oppression and the heavy tax levied on the subjects by the rulers, which later forced Uthman and his *Jamā'a* to overthrow the Hausa Kingdom and establish an Islamic government that survived for a full century up till the British colonisation in the early 20th century. Herein, the authors discuss the gradual methods that Uthman follows which later turned from an evolutionary approach to a revolutionary approach. This article concerns only the internal factors responsible

⁹⁶ Abdul Azim Islahi. "Shehu Usman Dan Fodio and his Economic Ideas" Munich Personal Repec Archive: Jeddah, Islamic Economics Institute, King Abdulaziz University.

⁹⁷ Usman Muhammad Bugaje. *The Contents, Methods, and Impact of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio's Teachings (1774-1804)*. (M.A Dissertation, Khartoum, Sudan: University of Khartoum, 1979).

⁹⁸ Hamza Muhammad Maishanu and Isa Muhammad Maishanu, "The Jihad and the Formation of the Sokoto Caliphate" *A Journal of Islamic Studies* vol. 38, No. 1. (Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad, 1999), 119-131. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20837029>. Accessed 5th March 2015.

for the decline of the Sokoto Caliphate. The authors did not mention the external factors.

Equally, Sherif Mudasiru⁹⁹ in his Master's dissertation examines the growth and collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate. He initially noted that people in Hausaland hated their Kings for their beliefs in spirit and sacrifices; they were mixing both sexes and Islam with aspects of traditional religion. In his view, these were the reasons that pushed Uthman to think about change and revolution that would overthrow the existing political authorities in Hausaland. In addition, he discovered that the British invasion and French colonialists were the core cause of the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate. Similarly, Muhammad S. Umar's *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule*¹⁰⁰ opines that after the death of Uthman bin Foduye, the European intellectuals of the later 19th and 20th centuries considered Fulani as incompetent rulers to govern the Hausaland. To them, Africa was the "dark continent". The account of these authors, while highlighting the negative factors and the European machination into the political system of the Islamic government of Sokoto, did little to help the researcher to understand the infrastructure and institutions, which provided the central ideology of its founders.

Further, in his Master's dissertation, Hussaini Usman Malami¹⁰¹ pointed out that Uthman bin Foduye's *Jihād* aims at reforming the market system, response to modernism; and to bring about changes for the social welfare of the people of Hausaland. His findings reveal that despite the subsequent colonial rule of nearly sixty years in Nigeria, the impacts of Uthman's revolution is unprecedented not only in Northern Nigeria but the entire region of West Africa (*Bilād al-Sudan*), as it provides a

⁹⁹ Sherif Mudasiru. *Sokoto Caliphate: It's Rise and Fall* (M.A Masters Dissertation, Malaysia: International Islamic University, Malaysia).

¹⁰⁰ Muhammad Sani Umar. *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule*. (Brill Laiden-Boston: The Nietherlands Library of Congress, 2006).

¹⁰¹ Hussaini Usman Malami, *Economic Approaches and Practi ces of the Sokoto Caliphate: Some Historical Perspective* (M.A Dissertation, Malaysia: International Islamic University, 1992).

substantial socio-economic development to the region. Likewise, Ubah¹⁰² maintains that the overall objective of the Uthman *Jihād* was to set up a government in which the Shari'a would be the guiding principles of administration and regulate the activities of the state and the lives of all members of the society. The account of these authors while shedding light on the economic approaches and practices as well as the ideals of the 1804 *Jihād* of the Sokoto Caliphate did little to provide detailed information about the procedures that Uthman took before the final decision of undertaking the *Jihād* of 1804.

As has been noted, the Sokoto Caliphate has established two hundred years ago, hence, understanding its system of administration is of great importance in this study. Relevant material in this regard is Sa'ad Abubakar.¹⁰³ In this article, the author analyses the pattern of the administration that emerged in Hausaland and other areas cover by the 19th Sokoto Caliphate. He clearly sets out the system of administration of various governments of Hausa states long before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. According to him, the systems of Hausa states were similar in structure, function, and character. He also describes that the 19th-century *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye in Hausaland was a major political revolution. Despite that, he asserts that because of the *Jihād* movement the government of the Hausa States underwent certain changes in the administration. Finally, the author agrees that the *Jihād* was also important because a new government based on Islamic law emerged in areas were stateless societies had existed before, such as the region to the East of Hausaland and South of Borno. The author discusses external factors that later led to the decline of the Sokoto Caliphate, he, however, views the system of British taxation as the same of that practiced by the Hausa rulers before and after the death of Uthman.

¹⁰² Chinedu N. Ubah. "The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004", in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, Vol. 2. Edited by H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu. (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House Ahmadu Bello University).

¹⁰³ Sa'ad Abubakar, "The Emirate Type of Government in the Sokoto Caliphate", Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* vol. 7, No.2 (june, 1994), 211-229

For the maintenance of the Sokoto Caliphate, scholarly works have been provided as guidance in carrying out its administration. Besim S. Hakim makes an important observation here.¹⁰⁴ In this article, the author elucidates that in the 19th century, Uthman bin Foduye and his *Jamā'a*, including his brother Abdullah and his son Muhammad Bello, united territories including what is present, Northern Nigeria into an Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate. During this period, a great deal of scholarship on Islamic law was revived and written by Uthman, his brother, his son and other local scholars embedded in the literature are material relating to policies and rules that were followed in decision making and affected various levels of the built community. These include policies for the establishment of new settlements and numerous rules relating to the processes of change and growth within the fabric of new settlements and established cities. Similarly, Paden¹⁰⁵ stressed that Uthman bin Foduye consolidated the peoples of Hausaland and neighbouring towns into a single polity and established a new centre in Sokoto in 1809. The author used the method of comparing the federal system of the Caliphate to the current Nigerian federal system. To him, the Caliphate is still functions but not as it is earlier established.

Despite conflicts that had penetrated among some the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, the leaders were able to unite their people. Perhaps the best reference in this context is Ashafa¹⁰⁶ who examines the ethnoreligious relations in the Sokoto Caliphate. The author elucidates that the Sokoto Caliphate in the 19th century, despite tribal differences, had managed its diversity. Hence, the author opines that if such a history and tradition of tolerance and cooperation of the Sokoto Caliphate is repeated, the

¹⁰⁴ Besim S. Hakim, "Rules for Built Environment in 19th century Northern Nigeria, A journal of Architectural and Planning Research, vol. 23, No. 1, 2006, 1-26. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43030756>. Accessed on 5th March 2015.

¹⁰⁵ John N. Paden. "Contemporary Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphate: Rule of Law, Federation and Conflict Resolution" in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, Vol 2. Edited by H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu. (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, 2006).

¹⁰⁶ Abdullah M. Ashafa. "Ethno-Religious Relations in the Sokoto Caliphate: Lessons for Contemporary Africa" in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*. Vol. 2, ed by H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu. (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello Univeristy, 2006).

Africa of the 21st century and its conflict will be minimised and optimistically it could move from a polarised ethnoreligious continent to an integrated continent. This work indicates that learning the history of Sokoto Caliphate is extremely important for the development of African society. Chafe¹⁰⁷ is another good reference for learning the history of the Sokoto Caliphate.

The Sokoto Caliphate, despite the fact that it is the famous established Islamic government in the 19th century, West Africa, its founder left behind many legacies for its maintenance and administration, although, it is not safe from criticism of contemporary authors, particularly the Christians who misunderstood the reasons for its establishment.¹⁰⁸ A good reference in this context is Reynold J. T.¹⁰⁹ The author critically reviewed that Sokoto Caliphate was the backbone of Nigerian religious crisis. He further argues that its expansions results in the influence of religion in Nigerian politics. Therefore, it is problematic. This work is indirectly trying to show that the present Islamic militant's group of Boko Haram in Nigeria originated from the Caliphate. The author did little to provide evidence to support his argument because he failed to explain when Uthman bin Foduye started manifesting his mission and why he resorted to the revolution.

¹⁰⁷ Kabiru S. Chafe. "Remarks on the Hisotriography of the Sokoto Caliphate" in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*. Vol.2, ed by H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu (Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House: Ahmadu Bello University, 2006).

¹⁰⁸ Some of the contemporary Christian authors and even some of the Muslims thought that Uthman bin Foduye established the Sokoto Caliphate just because of political subjugation, which in reality not his real mission. His main target was to establish justice and reform ungodly acts in his society. To know more about this issue, see page 111 of this study, under the topic: 'The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Revolutionary Period'.

¹⁰⁹ Reynold J. T. "The Politics of History: The Legacy of the Sokoto Caliphate in Nigeria (Review)". *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Volume 32, Issue 1-2, June 1997, Pages 50-65. Retrieved from: <http://ezproxy.um.edu.my:2098/search/form.uri?display=basic&clear=t&origin=searchauthorlookup&txGid=0>. Accessed on 8 April 2016.

1.7.3 Literature dealing with the Common Background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun; and the Possibility of the Application of Ibn Khaldun's Concept of *Umrān* in Uthman's Contribution

Few scholars have attempted to compare between the thought of Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun especially on the decline of states/dynasties and the role of *Umrān* in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society. Ahmad Adam Okene and Shukri b. Ahmad had in their article on the cyclical theory of Ibn Khaldun examine the rise and fall of the Sokoto Caliphate in relation to the theory of *Umrān* and *Aṣabiyyah*. It is the first material that the researcher came across which gives insight on the possibility of applying the theory of Ibn Khaldun in the Sokoto Caliphate.

In their article, the authors clearly find that Ibn Khaldun's theory is a universal one that can be applied to the past and modern times.¹¹⁰ According to them, the Caliphate that has over 31 emirates, soon after its establishment, it maintains justice integrity and sincerity in its administration. The article indicates that the Caliphate has a federal system of administration. However, the article describes that the philosophy of Uthman's Caliphate is to cleanse the blameworthy customs prevalent in West Africa and to transform its economic and political system. The authors further explain that the Caliphate after about four-decade of its establishment, it began to decline in its organisation, and economic progress based on Ibn Khaldun's theory of the rise and fall of states or dynasties. Herein, the article describes that among what leads to its decline is negligence of Sharī'a instructions, which Uthman left behind as a legacy. Finally, with its decline in contents the authors observed that by 1904, the British end the Caliphate by dominating all its territories and power. This work is relevant to this research as it elaborates the detailed causes of the decline of the Caliphate. It compares and analyses the possibility of applying the theory of Ibn Khaldun in the Caliphate.

¹¹⁰ Ahmad Adam Okene and Shukri B. Ahmad "Ibn Khaldun, Cyclical Theory and the Rise and Fall of Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria, West Africa" @ Centre for Promoting Ideas USA in www.ijbssnet.com.

In a similar way, Bunza¹¹¹ explains that based on Ibn Khaldun's theory of the rise and fall of a state or dynasty, Uthman bin Foduye and other Sokoto scholars have pointed out some causes for the rise and decline of governments and its leaders. These factors are the prime reasons for the decline of the Hausa States and the Sokoto Caliphate.

The article further reveals that the basis of the thoughts of two figures, particularly on the ideas of the decline of the state was from the Qur'ān. Although the author does not detail all the factors Ibn Khaldun sets out in the *Muqaddimah*, he discussed them in the views of Uthman bin Foduye.

Additionally, Muhammad Bello, the son of Uthman bin Foduye, made a great contribution, in his book, *Uṣūl al-Siyāsah*.¹¹² In it, he mentioned the negative factors that hasten to the decline of a ruler and his authority, which is putting something, not in its right place. He asserted that once a person who is not qualified to any leadership appointed the authority would soon decline. This is of great importance to this research as it is in line with Ibn Khaldun's idea of the fall of a state or dynasty.

Uthman bin Foduye's *Uṣūl al-'Adl liwilāt al-Umūr' wa Ahl al-Fadl*¹¹³ describes the various ways, which lead to the decline of leadership, of which he mentions that oppression, bribery and injustice are among such negative factors. The literature is relevant to the idea of Ibn Khaldun on the fall of a state and dynasty. In addition, Abdullahi bin Foduye, in his book, *Diya al-Sultān*,¹¹⁴ clearly mentions that

¹¹¹ Mukhtar Umar Bunza "Initiative for Quality of Sustainable Development: A Model from an African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria" Conference on Islamic Political System (CIPS), by The National Scholars Association (ILMUAN), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, November, 2011.

¹¹² Muhammad Bello, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Siyāsah* Vol 2. (The Principles of Leadership), translated by Muhammad Kabir Yusuf and edited by A. B. Yahaya, in Selected Writings of Sultan Muhammad Bello, (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House, 2013).

¹¹³ Uthman bin Foduye, *Uṣūl al-'Adl liwilāt al-Umūr' wa Ahl al-Fadl* (The Principles of Justice for Men with Authority and Honour), edited by Suleiman Musa, and translated by Abubakar Buba Luwa in Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House, 2013).

¹¹⁴ Abdullahi bn Foduye, *Diya al-Sutān wa ga'rihi min al-Ikhwān fī Ahammi ma Yadlubu minhum fī hāza al-Zamān* (A Guide to the Sultan and other Brothers), ed. By Suleiman Musa, and trns. By Abubakar Buba Luwa in Selected Writings of Shaykh Abdullahi bn Foduye Vol. 1 (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House, 2013).

extravagance and miserliness are among the negative factors that lead to the decline of state and leadership. The author supported his argument with the Qur'ānic verse, which indicates that whoever is extravagant will be destroyed at the end. This idea is indeed relevant to Ibn Khaldun's fall of a state and dynasty. The literature is important in this research, as it shows the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's idea to the ideas of Uthman bin Foduye and his lieutenants.

Ahmad Tukur Hassan makes a similar contribution.¹¹⁵ He discussed the influences of Ibn Khaldun's writings on Uthman bin Foduye. He proves that Uthman and other Sokoto *Jihād* leaders used to refer to Ibn Khaldun's thought in some of their writings. According to him, this indicates that Sokoto *Jihād* leaders have influenced Ibn Khaldun especially about the history of *Bilād al-Sudan*. According to Hassan, it is possible to apply Ibn Khaldun's concepts in the Sokoto Caliphate. The author further comments that because of the lifespan of the Sokoto Caliphate, many factors have resembled Ibn Khaldun's concept of *ʿAṣabiyyah*. This literature is indeed important to this research as it sketches the detailed factors for the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *ʿAṣabiyyah* in the central government of the Sokoto Caliphate. This denotes that despite the long generation between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun, the concepts of Ibn Khaldun's *ʿUmrān* remain applicable.

Ikechuku Mike Nduka¹¹⁶ in his book on *ʿAṣabiyyah* made a great contribution to this study. The author of this book describes *ʿAṣabiyyah* as a conflicting socio-religious factor in Nigeria'. Despite his argument, he acknowledged that the Hausa language is phonetic very much related to North-African Arabic, and is the second lingua franca of Africa and spoken by many people with little or no Hausa blood. Significantly, today's Hausa-Fulāni community is marked by intense local patriotism; it is nothing but the

¹¹⁵ Ahmad Tukur Hassan, "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of Asabiyyah: A Factor of Relevance in the Study of the Rise and Fall of the Central Government of Sokoto Caliphate" *Al-Nahdah: A Journal of Islamic Heritage*, Vol. 2 Nos. 1 & 2 (1999), Centre for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Nigeria.

¹¹⁶ Ikechuku Mike Nduka, *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time? Approximation of Nigeria's "groups-in-groups syndrome* (W. Germany: Alle Rechte Vorbehalten, 1998).

strength of their '*Aṣabiyyah*. What is more important is the fact that the revolutionary *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye "was based on religious '*Aṣabiyyah* that changed the society and economy of the great Hausaland and the political feature of Nigeria". This book, while highlighting this issue, indicates the significance and relevance to Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Aṣabiyyah* in Uthman bin Foduye's societal change.

Usman Bugaje¹¹⁷ identifies the origin of Islamic scholarship of West African scholars. He shows how North African scholars inspired Uthman to change his society. The article delineates that scholarship has consistently linked through the ages to the chain of scholarship that has its root in North Africa during the time of the *al-Murābitūn*. Surprisingly, scholars in West Africa had adopted their ideas and systems in writing. This article shows the influences of North African scholars on the West African scholars. The author further mentions that Uthman bin Foduye on preparing the ground for his revolutionary *Jihād*, had occasionally relied on Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*. Notwithstanding, the author did not mention where and how many times Uthman bin Foduye quotes Ibn Khaldun in his writings.

The above is the only literature that has attempted to deal with what the researcher intended to achieve. Nevertheless, it is not enough, and this is because the literature did little to deal lengthily with the subject matter of the study. However, one of the largest gaps that this study discovered in reviewing most of the literature dealing with Uthman bin Foduye is a lack of detailing the incidents before the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. This confused some of the authors about the initial missions of Uthman bin Foduye, because researchers are always referring to the Sokoto Caliphate, which was not established until thirty years after Uthman bin Foduye's struggle. Hence,

¹¹⁷ Usman M. Bugaje, "Scholarship and Revolution: The Impact of a Tradition of Tajdid on the Sokoto Caliphate Leaders" in Bobby, H. et al (ed), *The Sokoto Caliphate, History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, vol. ii, Arewa House, Kaduna.

Sokoto Caliphate does not rise until in 1809. Moreover, most of the authors confuse the facts about the rise and fall of the Sokoto Caliphate.

1.7.4 Literature dealing with Ibn Khaldun's Concept of 'Umrān

Various scholars and researchers have attempted to assess and evaluate the forces behind the formation of Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān, its types and concepts. The majority of them believe that the concept of 'Umrān is unique in nature as has been admitted by Ibn Khaldun. In this regard, Mahmoud Dhaouadi's *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān Mind*¹¹⁸ is dedicated to exploring Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān and shows the negligence of Muslim researchers to utilise the classical writings of Muslim scholars like Ibn Khaldun to address the challenges of contemporary societies. For this reason, he argues that to say, "West has dominated all human knowledge since renaissance is no exaggeration". In his attempts to study Ibn Khaldun and his *Muqaddimah*, he discovered that prominent contemporary Western sociologists share the same views with Ibn Khaldun's new science ('ilm al-'Umrān), particularly on the social change of human societies. The author has clearly elucidated what Ibn Khaldun means by his 'Umrān and its central concept. He believed that 'Aṣabiyyah is the central concept of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān. The author, while shedding light on Ibn Khaldun's 'ilm al-'Umrān, did not clearly explain the role of al-ta'awun (cooperation) in the successful organisation and transformation of human societies, at the same time, he did not show the possibility of the application of the concept of Umrān to the past generation societies/nations.

As'ad Ghanem¹¹⁹ critically reviewed Dhaouadi and criticised the author. He opines that Dhaouadi "tackles Ibn Khaldun's views on 'tribalism' by putting forward a superficial explanation derived from the understanding common to Arab societies, that

¹¹⁸ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān Mind* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: A. S. Noordeen, 1997).

¹¹⁹ As'ad Ghanem (reviewer), Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations in the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān (Civilisation) Mind*. Kuala Lumpur: A. S. Noordeen, 2003 (English), 273 pp. + index; Tunis: University Publication Centre, 1997 (Arabic), 268 pp., ISBN 9830650537.

of ‘tribalism’ as a social relationship based on relations with relatives”. This, points to the fact that Ibn Khaldun used biology to interpret social phenomena (i.e. ‘*Asabiyyah*). Ghanem concludes that this explanation is an exaggeration because Ibn Khaldun’s discussion on such an issue is far beyond that. He also criticised Dhaouadi by saying that throughout his book omits to put Ibn Khaldun among the political scientists as he shows that he was a social theorist. Ghanem views Ibn Khaldun to have tackled a number of issues related to the state, nations and its use in political plurality. Hence he must be considering as a political scientist. In spite of this, the reviewer did not acknowledge how Dhaouadi explains Ibn Khaldun’s ‘*ilm al-‘Umrān al-Basharī*, even though his review may be considered for its showing the exclusion of Ibn Khaldun among the political scientists by the author.

In a similar way, Mahmoud Dhaouadi¹²⁰ made a comparative analysis between Ibn Khaldun’s Umrān science and the thought of his counterparts among Western sociologists on the concept of social change. Based on historical facts, the author identified many similarities and differences between Ibn Khaldun and Comte, Max, Durkheim and Weber. Surprisingly, as regards the evolution of human societies, the European sociologist considered it in a linear pattern, while Ibn Khaldun on the other hand considers the Arab-Muslim societies in a cyclical pattern. On the convergence points, both Ibn Khaldun and those Western sociologists agree that social change in human societies is a necessary feature. This may happen from simplicity to complexity, as Ibn Khaldun used the terms Bedouin to sedentary and some among the West used the terms traditional to modern, *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, mechanic to organic, etc., show such changes that usually occur in human societies.

¹²⁰ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, “The Concept of Change in the Thought of Ibn Khaldun and Western Classical Sociologists” *Islam Arastirmalari Dergisi*, ISAM, Istanbul, Sayı 16, 2006, 43-87.

Similarly, Mahmoud Dhaouadi¹²¹ in his article on 'Ibn Khaldun's Umrān mind' tries to study the personality traits of Ibn Khaldun because of its less concerned by various authors. Therefore, having its great importance for the realisation of human creativity, the author discovered that what helped Ibn Khaldun to introduce his new science *'ilm al-'Umrān*, is his vast knowledge and creativity. He, however, asserts that based on the Muslim culture *'Aql* and *Naql*' as combined ways of acquisition and creation of knowledge, Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* was in line with the Islamic culture of learning. Therefore, the author reached the conclusion that what made Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* unique is because of his extensive studies of various tribes, clans, groups, and dynasties of his time. Despite the fact that the author follows the methods of using Qur'ān and Sunnah as sources of Islamic knowledge, to support Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* mind does not clearly and comprehensively detail the components of *'Umrān*.

Concerning Ibn Khaldun's worldview in the creation of his concept of *'Umrān*, a great contribution and relevant material to this context is Zaid Ahmad.¹²² The author analyses the philosophical foundations of the concept of knowledge of Ibn Khaldun, since the book focused on the 'epistemology of Ibn Khaldun', which the author centred his discussion on chapter six of the *Muqaddimah*, wherein, Ibn Khaldun discusses various sciences (*al-'ilm*). What is more important and relevant to this study is the vivid explanation of the author concerning the significant concept *al-Ta'āwun* (cooperation) of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān*. Finally, the author admitted the necessity of human social organisation for the accomplishment of human existence. Despite this, the author did not show whether the concept should apply to the past or to the modern time.

Many authors have attempted to demonstrate the incorporation of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* into the mainstream of contemporary Western sociology. Relevant

¹²¹ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, The *'Ibar: Lessons of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān Mind*, "Contemporary Sociology", Vol. 34, No. 6 (Nov., 2005), pp. 585-591. Retrieved on 27 December 2015, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4147100>.

¹²² Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun* (London: New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

material in this context is Laroussi Amri¹²³ who raised the important question as to whether Ibn Khaldun is relevant to contemporary social sciences. He concludes in the positive because of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*, which is at the centre of his worldview. In his attempt to describe the relevance of the concept in today's social sciences, the author noted that the term from its original root describes movement from *'Umrān Badawī* to *'Umrān Ḥaḍarī*. Meanwhile, the author discovered that Ibn Khaldun found his concept of Umran not something static, but rather a dynamic process. With this, the author concludes that Ibn Khaldun can compare with the modern social sciences. Therefore, the author, while highlighting the dynamic process of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān*, did not explore the central factors behind the actualisation of such changes.

Another good contribution, which is more relevant to this study, is written by Fuad Buali.¹²⁴ In his book on Ibn Khaldun *'ilm al-'Umrān* and its conflicting views which generated because of scholars' different interpretations to the concept, his findings reveal that many sources show that what made Ibn Khaldun a father or forerunner of one or more social sciences is his *'ilm al-Umrān*, which elucidates the foundation of human societies. The author deeply verified and examined the claims that Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* anticipated some modern social thought. His findings show that Ibn Khaldun belongs to the 14th century, and hence some of his generalisations are not applicable in contemporary societies. However, this should not prevent one from selecting some parts of his work that currently appear relevant and may compare with the mother social sciences.

¹²³ Laroussi Amri, "The concept of *'umran*: The heuristic knot in Ibn Khaldun", *The Journal of North African Studies* 13(3):351-361. DOI: 10.1080/13629380701844672.

¹²⁴ Fuad Buaali, *The science of human social organisation: conflicting views on Ibn Khaldun's (1332-1406) Ilm al-umran* (Lampeter, New York : Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).

In a similar contribution, Fuad Buaali¹²⁵ examines the scope, nature, and methods of Ibn Khaldun's *'ilm al-'Umrān*, the science of human social organisation, as established in his magnum opus, the *Muqaddimah*. The author investigates Ibn Khaldun's concepts and observation on state and history. He further scrutinises his concepts on culture, urbanisation, and civilisation as well as the dualist typology of Ibn Khaldun's concept, which is the movement from *'Umrān Badawī* to *'Umrān Ḥaḍarī*. Similarly, Syed Farid Alatas¹²⁶ in his *Makers of Islamic Civilisation*, which contains the summary of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*, observes that *'Umrān* is a science dealing with the social organisation of human society. The author declared that Ibn Khaldun propounded his new science on the dynamic societies of his time, particularly, the Arab-Muslim societies and the Berbers and non-Arabs. Hence, *'Umrān* is a framework that enabled a scholar to understand and differentiate the truth and untruth about the society of his time or before him. However, *'Umrān*, which is the study of human society deals with the inner meaning of history, which helps to comprehend what is possible and impossible and to know clearly the origin and causes of particular events in the society. Nonetheless, the author despite admitting Ibn Khaldun's chapter one contains definitions, concepts, origin, and causes, did not mention the concepts that can guide a reader to understand the basic elements of *'Umrān* and what may lead to origin and causes, notwithstanding, it is relevant to this study will not be over emphasised.

In a similar contribution, Anwar Ameen Al-Mudamgha¹²⁷ in his published PhD thesis titled *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory* examined the development of society, culture (civilisation), and the state. He deals with the subject of *'Umrān* and its *'Aṣabiyyah*, which indicates how human society organises and develops. The author

¹²⁵ Fuad Buali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988).

¹²⁶ Syed Farid Alatas, *Ibn Khaldun: Makers of Islamic Civilisation* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹²⁷ Anwar Ameen Al-Mudamgha, *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas* (Published Ph.D Thesis, New York: Syracuse University, 1971).

elucidates the importance of *‘Aṣabiyyah* in the development of *‘Umrān*. He, however, highlights two types of *‘Umrān*, which Ibn Khaldun divided into *Badāwi* and *Ḥadārī* societies. Similarly, the author indicates how human society started and changed to another lifestyle. Interestingly, his discussion of the state and society, which observed that Ibn Khaldun in his discussion in the *Muqaddimah* did not make a clear difference between state and society, despite that, the author emphasised the necessity of human society for the well-being of man life.

Another important material to this study is Rahman et al.¹²⁸ The authors suggested that for the sustainable development of Muslim societies, Ibn Khaldun's theory is the best to guide Muslim. They added that the foundation of society and economic growth is justice. They revealed that justice in line with Ibn Khaldun's theory provides a good distribution of wealth in society, which in turn supports members of the society. Meanwhile, Johnson¹²⁹ asserts that many thinkers accept Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) as the founder of sociology, particularly his social conflict theory. While others discovered that, he introduced a theory of political economy and political philosophy. The author elucidates that his book targeted to explain Ibn Khaldun's epistemology and philosophy of mind, a topic often neglected despite his creative mind. He describes how his thought shaped and integrated the views of Islamic philosophers and Muslim conservatives.

In respect to the application of the theory of Ibn Khaldun in the present time, Syed Alatas¹³⁰ worries about why a great Islamic thinker like Ibn Khaldun is neglected. He, therefore, appeals to lecturers in Universities and colleges to include the study of

¹²⁸ Y. A. Aziz, A. A. Rahman, H. Hassan & S. H. Hamid. "Exploring the Islamic and Halal Tourism Definition" Conference Proceedings on Innovation and Best Practices in Hospitality and Tourism Research, Malaysia: Universiti Teknologi MARA.

¹²⁹ Steve A. Johnson, *Ibn Khaldun's Epistemology and Philosophy of Mind*. (Amazon: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2015).

¹³⁰ Syed Farid Alatas, *Applying Ibn Khaldun: The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology* (London, United Kingdom: Routledge Taylor and Francis Ltd, 2015). Also see the author's paper Ibn Khaldun and Contemporary Sociology, National University of Singapore, 2006.

Ibn Khaldun in their curriculum. The author asserts that by adopting a systematic approach, Ibn Khaldun's theory be integrated into modern social science theories. He declares that applying the Khaldunian theory of human social organisation will not only be interesting to students but also to the scholars of sociology.

Syed Farid Alatas¹³¹ emphasised the urgent need for the reconstruction of Ibn Khaldun's theory for its application in the sociology of the South. He, therefore, called upon researchers not to compare some of Ibn Khaldun's concepts for the formation of states and societies with the thought of contemporary sociologist, but rather to reconstruct them to incorporate the approach of the contemporary sociologist. In his view, the author reiterates that without undertaking this task, Ibn Khaldun's thought would continue to be marginalised. Thus, the author offers Ibn Khaldun as an exemplar for the sociology and the south by way of an application of his ideas to standard historical issues. More importantly, the author declares that Ibn Khaldun's thought need not be limited to the Arab Society of Maghreb.

In adopting Ibn Khaldun's theory as a remedy to conflicts whether religious, political, or social, Asyiqin binti Abdul Halim¹³² made a great contribution in this context. In her PhD thesis, she pointed out the relevance of the theory of '*Aṣabiyyah*' in a modern context by choosing the Malay Muslim community in Malaysia as a case study. Her finding reveals that despite the economic stagnation, political divisions, misunderstanding of religion and moral decadence in the Muslim community in general, particularly Malay Muslim community, the theory of '*Aṣabiyyah*' is highly relevant as a solution to the issues. The account of this literature, while shedding light on the

¹³¹ Syed Farid Alatas, "A Khaldunian Exemplar for a Historical Sociology for the South", *Current Sociology* May 2006 Vol 54(3): 397–411 SAGE (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi) DOI: 10.1177/0011392106063189.

¹³² Asyiqin Abdulhalim. *The Application of Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Asabiyyah to the Modern Period with Special Reference to the Malay Muslim Community in Malaysia*. (PhD Thesis, United Kingdom: University of Birmingham, 2012).

situations of Muslim communities implied the possibility of the application of the theories of *‘Umrān* and *‘Aṣabiyyah* in the contemporary period.

A similar contribution to the above literature is Douglas H. Garrison.¹³³ In his Master’s thesis, the author pointed out the link that brings Ibn Khaldun, a 14th-century sociologist, and historian into the mainstream of historiographical, political and sociological learning. He compares Ibn Khaldun’s major ideas and political thought with key Western social scientists such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hegel, and Hobbes among others. He clearly indicates their similarities and differences and identifies the contemporary relevance of Ibn Khaldun lasting theoretical value of political power, state, and social change. The literature indicates that Ibn Khaldun’s thought is of paramount importance to the contemporary human social organisation. Despite that, the author did not detail the clear nature of the concept of Ibn Khaldun’s *‘Umrān*, rather he focuses only on its transformation, and at the same time, the author did not show the functions and applicability of the concept to past human societies.

Among those who supported the functions of Ibn Khaldun’s theory in modern time is Chapra¹³⁴ who applied Ibn Khaldun’s theory to understand the low performance of Muslim countries in socio-economic development. He declared that the progress and decline of the socio-economy of any given society cannot be determined by one factor, but rather with the collaboration of various factors that include moral and political aspects. In his findings, he discovered that once any of these factors reacts in a similar way with another, it leads to results for which it can be hard to determine the cause from the effect. This implies that the author was in total support of Ibn Khaldun’s theory.

¹³³ Douglas H. Garrison. *Ibn Khaldun and the Modern Social Sciences: A Comparative Theoretical Inquiry into Society, the State, and Revolution*. (M.A Thesis: University of Denver, United States, 2012).

¹³⁴ M. Umer Chapra. “Ibn Khaldun’s theory of development: Does it help to explain the low performance of the present-day Muslim world?” *Journal of Socio-Economic* 27 (2008), 836-863.

Further, Lacoste¹³⁵ clearly describes Ibn Khaldun as an important mind of the 14th century. The author unveils Ibn Khaldun's universal history as a recovery and a great work of contemporary relevance. He observed that it helps in understanding the Arab world. To him, reading Ibn Khaldun's theory would guide the researchers to appreciate the high intellectual heritage of the Arabs.

ʿAṣabiyyah served as a dynamic force in the emergence of political leadership. Sidani¹³⁶ discovered that Ibn Khaldun's *ʿAṣabiyyah* is of great importance in matters of leadership. He suggested that the theory is applicable to different times and civilisations. He added that the theory of leadership of Ibn Khaldun has significant to non-Western societies especially in North Africa and the Middle East. Similarly, Lenn Goodman defines *ʿAṣabiyyah* as having its roots in the *Jāhiliyyah* period, wherein it used to signify in "thought and actions", "social and economic cohesiveness among member of the same tribe"¹³⁷ hence, the focus of this research is to determine the significance of *ʿAṣabiyyah* in human social organisation.

Aṣabiyyah is said to be the only knot that can unite a society in conflict. Ibrahim Khalifa¹³⁸ suggested in his thesis that Arabian society, after the period of Four Rightly Guided Caliphs, needed to find a new *ʿAṣabiyyah* that can unite them since Islam has moved from consolidated society to a type of society made up of self-serving individuals. Similarly, George Firzly¹³⁹ maintains that *ʿUmrān* and *ʿAṣabiyyah* are the main theories propounded by Ibn Khaldun. They are the dominant themes in his *Muqaddimah*. Taken separately, the author examines that *ʿUmrān* stands as the basic

¹³⁵ Yves Lacoste. *Ibn Khaldun: The Birth of History and The Past of the Third World*. (London: Verso Editions, 1984).

¹³⁶ Yusuf M. Sidani, "Ibn Khaldun of North Africa: an AD 1377 theory of leadership", *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 14 Iss 1 pp. 73 – 86 Permanent link to this document: Retrieved, April 18, 2016 from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17511340810845499>.

¹³⁷ Lenn Goodman, "Ibn Khaldun and Thucydides," *Journal of American Oriental studies* 92 (1972), 256.

¹³⁸ Ibrahim M. Khalifa. *An Analytical Study of "Asabiyyah": Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Social Conflict* (Published PhD Thesis, America: The Catholic University of America, University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972).

¹³⁹ George S. Firzly. *Ibn Khaldun: A Socio-Economic Study (Published PhD Dissertation)* (Michigan: University of Utah, University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor Michigan, 1973), P. viii.

sociological and economic ideas of Ibn Khaldun, while ‘*Aṣabiyyah* constitutes the major political philosophy of the state. Hence, the two theories complement each other. ‘*Aṣabiyyah* strengthens ‘*Umrān* but it cannot be organised without ‘*Aṣabiyyah* of blood-ties, tribes, and others.

Issawi¹⁴⁰ credited Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* as the most influential manifestation of philosophical thought. He states that although Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* contains his civilisational thought, it presented the results of a Western social scientist of the latter two centuries. The author explores the organisation of society and state, the method of history and the role of religion and politics in a state.

Wardi¹⁴¹ examines that many contemporary scholars adopted Ibn Khaldun as a precursor or a pioneer of the science of society and a great thinker of the philosophy of history. His *Muqaddimah* is considered as one of the six most outstanding authorities in general works of sociology. Despite the fact that Ibn Khaldun lived in a different world to modern times, the author tries to study the ways he used to construct the contemporary world in a similar way. His findings reveal that Ibn Khaldun’s theory fitted into the scheme of a modern sociologist. In addition, Muhammad Abdullahi Enan¹⁴² declared that he was deeply influenced; and impressed by Ibn Khaldun as being the foremost among the historians whose comprehension of history, its value and criticism is great.

Most of the scholars, especially of the 20th and 21st centuries had credited Ibn Khaldun as a great thinker who introduced the new science of society. Despite this,

¹⁴⁰ Charles Issawi (Trans). *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun’s of Tunis*. (London: Darwin Book Publishers, 1987).

¹⁴¹ Ali Husayn Wardi. *A Sociological Analysis of Ibn Khaldun’s Theory: A Study in the Sociology Knowledge*. (Published PhD Dissertation, Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1950).

¹⁴² Muhammad Abdullah Enan. *Ibn Khaldun: His Life & Work*. (Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946)

some view nothing new in Ibn Khaldun's theory. Dale¹⁴³ argued that the *Muqaddimah* belongs to al-Tabari and Mas'ūdi's Islamic historical traditions. He asserts that most of its intellectual origin is the rationalist thought from ancient philosophers, especially Aristotle (322-384 BCE), through such Greco-Islamic thinkers like al-Farabi (870-950 CE), Ibn Sina (980-1037 CE), and Ibn Rushd (1126-1198 CE) onward to European sociologists and historians of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Despite the fact that Dale is among the eminent historian scholars, he did not appreciate the methods used by Ibn Khaldun in introducing his theory.

Joffe¹⁴⁴ reviewed the work of Fuad Buali on *Ibn Khaldun and Islamic thought style*. In his review, he stressed that despite Ibn Khaldun's thought is contingent on the Islamic culture of the Glorious Qur'ān and Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), it indirectly extracts from Aristotelian logic. The author, however, relies on the fact that Islam later from 14th century lost its intellectual high-spiritedness. Hence, the argument is beyond relying on the revelation. His findings reveal that since Ibn Khaldun's area of reference is North Africa and its aftermath, therefore, his concept cannot be applied to the contemporary Islamic world.

Conversely, the most important contribution, which moderately refutes the arguments of the above-mentioned literature is by Zaid Ahmad.¹⁴⁵ The author explores the influence of Greek philosophy in the thought of Ibn Khaldun. Based on his inquiry, the author moderately discovered that it is doubtless to say that Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* does not carry some of the arguments of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, the author admitted that this does not necessarily show that the *Muqaddimah* is not

¹⁴³ Stephen Frederic Dal, "Ibn Khaldun: The Last Greek and the First *Annaliste* Historian". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 38(3), 431–451. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3879761>. Accessed on 12 April 2016.

¹⁴⁴ Joffe [Review of *Ibn Khaldun and Islamic Thought Styles: A Social Perspective*]. *Bulletin (british Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, 9(2), 193–196. Retrieved April 12, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195096>.

¹⁴⁵ Zaid Ahmad, "Ibn Khaldun and the Greek Philosophy: Some Notes from the *Muqaddimah*" *Historical Research Letter*, ISSN 2224-3178 (Paper) ISSN 2225-0964 (Online) Vol 2, 2012.

purely Ibn Khaldun's thought. The author acknowledged that Ibn Khaldun advanced his philosophical ideas, in which his new science of human society and civilisation ('Umrān) was propounded. Comparatively, the author ascertains that some of the terms used by Ibn Khaldun in establishing his concept of Umrān, resemble that of Aristotelian thought in his book *Politics*. Despite that, the author declared that this does not in any way reduced the originality of Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān. Hence, Ibn Khaldun did not use them in a similar to Aristotle. Significantly enough, the literature dealt with one of the main subject matter of this study ('Umrān and its component *ta'āwun*). It might be added that the author emphasised that *ta'āwun* is the central factor for the actualisation of human association, in which every person is in need of supports of each other for the survival and progress of their live. The literature, while highlighting on this issues, did not detail the other components of Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān, this may be due to the scope of the article.

To conclude, it is significant to note that the majority of the above-mentioned literature, which support Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān and its central concept 'Aṣabiyyah, were only concerned with its relevance to the modern time. Few among them show the possibility of its application to the past and to the present time, because of its universality and functions. Therefore, as far as Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān is concerned, its function might not be limited to the modern time, but has to be extended back to the past generation societies that came after the time of Ibn Khaldun, regardless of their closeness and remoteness. This may help to understand how and why societies, states, dynasties and caliphates in the past initially developed and attained their level of stability as well as the reasons for their eventual decline. Many important personalities played a substantial role in developing their societies in the past centuries, but most of the roles played in their societies are not known today. Therefore, if all researchers agree that Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān for the organisation and transformation of

human societies is new in its nature, let it balance its application to the past and the present time, in order to know the level of civilisation of the past societies.

1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The scope of this research will be extended to all relevant aspects of the study that would provide full information on the role played by Uthman bin Foduye in the successful changing of Nigerian society from a traditional to an established Islamic government. In this regard, the research studies the historical setting of Nigeria and the situation of Hausaland before the emergence of Uthman. This extends the research to look at the religious, social, economic and political nature of the said land whereupon Uthman developed his thought on social change. The major point of its flow is towards changing the traditional society to bring about a new Islamic society in Hausaland. Uthman bin Foduye's contribution is examined from the evolutionary period of his *da'wah* in one hand and to the revolutionary period on the other. All these were digested in order to understand the substantial role played by Uthman in the gradual changing of the society to the final stage of the establishment of the Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate.

As regards the historical framework, the focus of the study is limited to the history of societal change since in the early century of Islam through the various generations down to the time of Uthman bin Foduye. This limitation excludes the study of societal change that took place after the demise of Uthman bin Foduye especially outside the African continent. This necessitates examining Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* for the possibility of its relevance in the role played by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society based on Islamic tenets. With the aim of achieving that, this study draws a comparison between the thoughts of two personalities on the decline of states, societies, and dynasties as well as the extent of the influence of Ibn Khaldun's thought on Uthman bin Foduye's thought in changing the society. This study illustrates

how Ibn Khaldun interpreted the most important elements of *‘Umrān* and the way he used to show the dynamic of human societies. On the other hand, this study surveys *‘Aṣabiyyah* as a central concept to *‘Umrān* and its role in societal change.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section describes the methods used to conduct this study. The qualitative approach involving historical-comparative research was employed to answer and achieve the objective of this study. This section begins with an introduction to qualitative research methods and the reason why this method is more appropriate to this study. The succeeding sections highlight the methods of data collection and analysis.

1.9.1 The Qualitative Research Method

It should be clear that qualitative research was employed in this study. Various scholars have attempted to define qualitative research. Here are some of the definitions. Miles and Huberman elucidated, “Data in qualitative research is usually collected in the form of words rather than numbers”.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, Perri and Bellamy defined qualitative research as “describing which distinguishes itself from counting”.¹⁴⁷ With these definitions, for understanding the history of the role played by someone in the past generations, and to have more insight into the functions of individual’s concept, this study found that qualitative research is a more appropriate method. This is because the researcher examined and described the significant contribution made by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society to an established Islamic government from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* to determine the possibility of its relevance.

¹⁴⁶ Mathew B. Miles & Michael A. Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis 2nd edition*. (London and New Delhi: Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, 1994), 1

¹⁴⁷ Perri 6 & Christine Bellamy. *Principles of Methodology: Research Design in Social Science*. (London: Sage Publications, 2012), 81.

1.9.2 Rationale for Qualitative Research Method

Upon careful examination of the main purposes and distinctive features of qualitative research methods, it was clearly the suitable method of research to be adopted to address the research questions in this study. Another important thing is that, based on the objectives of this study, qualitative research is the best method that helps the researcher in gathering in-depth information, relevant facts and ideas that exist in the research topic. This guided the researcher in elaborating and analysing the topic comprehensively. Qualitative research is the most common method used in the fields of history, anthropology and political science.¹⁴⁸ The reason why qualitative research was employed in this study and discarded quantitative research was due to the nature of the study. That is to say, the study relied on historical records of what had occurred during the time of Uthman bin Foduye and analysed from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*. Therefore, the study analysed the data based on quality, not quantity. Since the study needs not any analysis by using tables, graphs, pictures or any variables, hence, qualitative research is the most suitable for the study. One of the most important reasons for choosing qualitative research, as the most suitable method in this study is the fact that the study entirely based on describing not on counting. In summary, the qualitative research guided the researcher to cover and answer the research questions.

1.9.3 Historical-Comparative Research

Having seen the significance of qualitative research, this section concentrates on the type of qualitative research that has been applied in this study. Historical-comparative research was employed in the present study. The question that arises here is why historical-comparative research was employed in this study. Neuman described historical-comparative research as “a collection of related types of investigation, in

¹⁴⁸ Mathew and Michael, A. Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis 2nd edition*, 1.

which the researcher examines data on events and conditions in the historical past and/or in different societies”. He goes on to state that “historical-comparative research can be exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory, but it is usually descriptive”.¹⁴⁹ The reason why historical-comparative research was employed in this study was due to the historical nature of the entire study. Since the study dealt with historical records of two different scholars from different locations and cultures, the researcher chooses this method of research because it guided him in achieving the objectives of the study. It was based on using this type of research that the researcher was able to compare between the facts during the time of Uthman bin Foduye and what Ibn Khaldun introduced almost four hundred years prior. This type of research helped the researcher to accentuate the relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye.

1.9.4 Methods of Data Collection

This section focuses on the methods used to collect data for this study. As a source of data collection, the documentary method was employed in this study and refers to “any materials that may be used as a source of information about human behaviour”.¹⁵⁰ In this study, data have been collected based on examining the primary and secondary sources. For the primary sources, the researcher examines the books written by Uthman bin Foduye, his brother, Abdullah, his son, Muhammad Bello on Muslim government, administration, rituals and society according to the Islamic perspectives. The famous books of Uthman bin Foduye, which the researcher referred to frequently are:

1- *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah ‘ala al-‘Ibād*. Two version of English translation of this book was used in this study. The first one is edited and translated by F. H. El-Masri, 1978. The second one is edited and translated by Sulaiman Musa Abubakar Buba Luwa, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

¹⁴⁹ Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 52.

¹⁵⁰ Bernard S. Philips, *Social Research: Strategy and Tactics*. 2nd edition (London: The Macmillan Company, 1971), 147.

2- *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān ‘ala Ahwāl ard al-Sūdān* (Informing Brothers on the Position of the People in Sudan Areas). Two version of English translation of this book was used in this study. the first one is translated and edited by H. R. Palmer, who translated the book as "An Early Conception of Islam", in Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 13, No. 52 (Jul. 1914), pp. 407-414 and in Vol. 14, No. 54 (Jan. 1915), 185-192. The second one is edited and translated by Adamu Bala & Suleiman Musa, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

3- *Kitāb al-Farq baīna wilāyāt ah’l al-Islam fī Wilāyatihim wa ahl’ al-Kufr fī Wilāyatihim* (The Book of the Differences between Government of the Believers and Non-Believers) edited and translated by Hiskett M., 1960.

4- *Ihyā’ al-Sunnah wa Ikhmād al-Bid‘ah* (Reviving the Sunnah and Suppressing the Innovation), edited and translated by Abdul-Hafeez Isma’il Ojoye & et als, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria. In addition, the researcher used the English translation of the *Ihyā* by Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shaef bin Farid, who translated the book as *The Revival of the Sunnah and Destruction of Innovation* (Sudan Sankore Institute of Islamic-African Studies International, 1998), 19.

5- Uthman bin Foduye, *Kitāb Hukm Juhhl Bilād Hausa (Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland)*, Edited & translated A.B. Yahya and Yasir Islam Nabingo, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

6- *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān ‘ala Jawāz ittikāz al-Majlis li ajli Ta’alīm al-Niswān ‘ilm Furūd al- ‘a’yān* (unofficially translated into English).

7- *Uṣūl al- ‘Adl liwilāt al-Umūr wa Ahl’ al-Fadl* (The Principles of Justice for Men with Authority and Honour), edited & translated by Suleiman Musa, and Abubakar Buba Luwa, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

On the other hand, books that written by Uthman brother, Abdullahi bin Foduye, which the researcher also considered as his primary sources, are:

1- *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt* (Decorating Pages with Some of my Poems). This study used two English translated version of this book. One is edited & translated by M. Hiskett, 1963. The other one is edited & translated by Translated and edited by Abubakar Buba Luwa and Sulaiman Musa, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

2- *‘Idā al-Nusūkh* Edited and translated by Hiskett M., 1958).

3- *Diyā’ al-Sultān wa gairihi min al-Ikhwān fī Ahammi ma Yadlubu minhum fī haza al-Zamān* (A Guide to the Sultan and other Brothers), edited & translated by Suleiman Musa, and Abubakar Buba Luwa, and published in 2013 by Iqra’ Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

Moreover, those written by Uthman bin Foduye’s son, Muhammad Bello, which often referred to are:

1- *Infāq al-Maisūr fī Tarīkh Bilād al-Tukrūr*. Edited and translated by C. E.J Whitting, 1951.

2- *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Siyāsah* (The Principles of Leadership), edited & translated by by A. B. Yahaya and Muhammad Kabir Yusuf, and published in 2013 by Iqra' Publishing House, Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria.

The researcher considered books written by Uthman bin Foduye's brother and son as primary sources because of the significant importance attached to them in detailing with the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye. They (Abdullahi bin Foduye and Muhammad Bello) supported Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society. Moreover, most of Uthman's books did not elaborate his contribution, but in their writings, they narrated the details of his biography and activities in changing the society. Therefore, reference has frequently been made to their writings in order to achieve the objective of the study.

In collecting the primary data for this study, the researcher used both Arabic and English texts of Uthman bin Foduye, Abdullahi bin Foduye and Muhammad Bello's books. Some of the books written by them are yet not edited and translated into English. Some remain in the forms of manuscripts, for example, Uthman bin Foduye's book *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān 'ala Jawāz ittikhāz li ajli Ta'alīm al-Niswān* is not yet translated into English.

Similarly, since the study is based upon discussing Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*, his magnum opus, *al-Muqaddimah* also served as a primary source for this study. In the *Muqaddimah*, the discussion on the concept of *'Umrān* was found in chapters one, two, and three. In collecting this primary data, the researcher used both Arabic and English versions of the *Muqaddimah*. For the Arabic version, the one edited by Abdul Salam Al-Shadadi (2005) is used to avoid English misinterpretation of some Arabic terms. On the other hand, the English version of the *Muqaddimah*, which has been translated and edited by Franz Rosenthal and N.J. Dawood (1976), used to collect

various data along with the *Muqaddimah* with a new introduction by Bruce B. Lawrence (2005).

The secondary sources relating to the topic and its relevant material are derived from the various books, articles, academic theses and online databases that elaborated more on the topic. The researcher has extensively examined sources written by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars to explain how they demonstrate the development of human society, and how the society is changed. For enhancing the findings of this study interviews, were conducted as a supplementary to the documentary data. It is significant to note that unstructured interviews were employed. Hence, “the strength of unstructured interviews is the almost complete freedom they provide in terms of content and structure. A researcher is free to order these in whatever sequence he wishes. He also has complete freedom in terms of the wording that he uses and the way he explains questions to his informants. He may formulate questions and raises issues spontaneously, depending upon what occurs to him in the context of the discussion”.¹⁵¹ The researcher implemented face-to-face communication with the academic doctors and professors in various institutions of higher learning in Nigeria and Malaysia as detailed below:

1- Bayero University Kano, Nigeria. In this University, three informants are selected and interviewed. All of them are doctors from the Islamic Studies Department of the University. The first informant is Dr. Ibrahim Mu’azzam Saminu Maibushirah.¹⁵² The researcher chooses to interview him because of his expertise related to this study, particularly on Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun. The second informant is Dr. Umar

¹⁵¹ Ranjit Kumar. *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step guide for beginners 3rd editions*. (London: Sage Publication, 2011), 144.

¹⁵² For his biographical details, see appendix.

Faruk Malumfashi.¹⁵³ The researcher contacted and interviewed him at his house in Kano metropolis. The third informant is Dr. Sani Umar.¹⁵⁴

2- Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria. In this University, the researcher chooses Professor Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim¹⁵⁵ of the Department of Islamic Studies because of his specialisation on the Sokoto Caliphate literature.

3- University of Maiduguri, Nigeria. In this University, the researcher has selected Professor Umaru Dahiru¹⁵⁶ from the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies and interviewed him.

4- The researcher has selected Professor Abdullahil Ahsan¹⁵⁷ from the department of History and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia, Gombak, Kuala Lumpur, and interviewed him.

1.9.5 Methods of Data Analysis

In qualitative research, “Data analysis involves examining, sorting, categorising, evaluating comparing, synthesising, and contemplating the coded data as well as reviewing the raw and recorded data”.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, in analysing the collected data, content analysis was employed to analyse, categorise as well as interpret the information gathered from the primary and secondary sources of this study. It should be clear that “Content analysis is used to identify, enumerate, and analyse occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in texts. With this, researchers in the qualitative content analysis are more interested in the meanings associated with messages than with the number of times message variables occur.”¹⁵⁹ Accordingly, content analysis is used in this study for descriptive purposes. It is important to note that

¹⁵³For the detailed information about his profile, see appendix.

¹⁵⁴ For more details about his specialisation, see appendix.

¹⁵⁵ See appendix for his biographical details

¹⁵⁶ See appendix for his biographical details

¹⁵⁷ For his biographical details, see appendix.

¹⁵⁸ Neuman, 517.

¹⁵⁹ Frey, Botan, & Kreps, *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods* (2nd ed.) (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1999), 5.

the content of the primary and secondary sources of the collected data were analysed to support each other. For example, where the information is available in the primary source, the researcher used to analyse and evaluate to indicate the specific objective by supporting with the secondary data or vice versa. Based on this analysis, the researcher was able to determine the significant role played by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society through utilising his knowledge and sound methods. It was through this way that he secured the cooperation of the people of Hausaland who supported his mission. This was in his evolutionary and revolutionary periods of change. Similarly, in analysing the content of the collected data from the Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun, the researcher begins with what Ibn Khaldun's mentions in his Muqaddimah and analyses, evaluates and interprets to show the clear aims of his idea by substantiating with the secondary data, which derived from books, journals, and online databases. This method of analysis, in reality, helped the researcher discovered the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* and its central concept *'Aṣabiyyah* in the organisation and transformation of human societies. Not of only today's society but to that of yesterday and tomorrow.

Furthermore, having analysed and identified the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* in the organisation and transformation of human societies, the researcher has further analysed and evaluated the contributions of Uthman bin Foduye from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*. Actually, the researcher begins his analysis from what he specific intended to achieve to the general conclusion. It was through this type of analysis; the researcher analysed and determined the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society. This was both in the evolutionary and revolutionary periods. Further, the researcher clearly shows the real features of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution. This led the researcher concluded that Uthman bin

Foduye's contribution in changing Nigerian society is perhaps according to the concept of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān*. Overall, Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* played a substantial role in Uthman bin Foduye's reforms. Moreover, based on analysing the data derived from the content of the primary and secondary sources on Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun, the researcher discovered similarities between the thought of Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun, particularly on the decline of states/societies and dynasties. Initially, the analysis starts by tracing the common background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun, despite the differences of locations, cultures, and generations that exists between them. In analysing and comparing between their thoughts on the decline of states/societies, and dynasties, the researcher usually looks at what Uthman bin Foduye says about each of the negative factors responsible for the decline in one discussion and compared with what Ibn Khaldun says in his *Muqaddimah* and vice versa. It was through this method of comparative analysis that both Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun shared the same thought. In addition, the researcher found that Uthman bin Foduye was influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought in his attempts to change his society.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organised into six chapters based on the data collected and analysed. The first chapter introduces the study, which comprises the historical records of the role of *Da'wah* in the earliest period of Islam, the history of societal change in Africa, followed by the definitions of terms, the objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, and research problems. It further contains the literature review, which includes literature dealing with the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society, literature dealing with the establishment of Uthman's Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate, literature dealing with the common background

between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun and the application of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution. In addition, it comprises literature dealing with Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*. Similarly, the chapter consists scope and limitation and finally the research methodology, which discussed the general approaches that employed in writing the study, that is data collection and analysis.

The second chapter deals with the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society. Before proceeding to the contribution, the historical background of Nigerian society is detailed, this includes its geographical location, population distribution, religion in Nigeria, the Hausaland (Northern Nigeria) before the emergence of Uthman bin Foduye. In addition, the coming of Islam into Hausaland, the role of earliest Islamic reformers in Hausaland, the decline of Hausa Kingdom, the biography of Uthman bin Foduye, Uthman bin Foduye's education, teachers, and the fundamental factors to Uthman bin Foduye's thought on societal change. This is followed by Uthman's contribution in evolutionary and revolutionary periods, which comprises ethical and intellectual factors in the evolutionary period, the approaches of Uthman bin Foduye in his teaching and preaching activities, and those who targeted by his teaching and preaching, which includes ignorance of the masses concerning Islam, traditional rulers, venal scholars. The chapter further comprises the analysis of Uthman bin Foduye's teaching and preaching methodologies, followed by his contribution in the revolutionary period, which his military factor contributed in his successful defeating of the armies of Hausa Kingdom. Additionally, the chapter deals with the historical overview of the Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate, which Uthman bin Foduye established after his success in overthrowing the Kingdom of Hausaland. The Sokoto Caliphate, its location and territories, the system of government in the Caliphate, the Shari'a administration in the Caliphate, and the internal and external factors responsible for the decline of the Caliphate.

The third chapter specifically deals with Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Umrān* for the organisation and transformation of human societies; it discussed the framework of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Umrān*, the basic elements of *Umrān*, which includes organisation, cooperation, and defence. It also discusses the types of *Umrān*, Ibn Khaldun's point of societal change. In addition, the chapter consists of *Aṣabiyyah*: A central concept of *Umrān*, the role of *Aṣabiyyah* in *Umrān Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī*, the necessity of *Asabiyyah* in for religious calling, the need of political leadership in the organisation of human society, which includes the types of leadership to *siyāsah dīniyyah* and *Aqaliyyah*.

The fourth chapter discusses Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in the light of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Umrān*. Comprising, the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's *Umrān* in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye, the role of *Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing society, the role of *Umrān* in the establishment of Uthman bin Foduye's Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate and finally, the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's *Umrān* in the Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the analysis of the common background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun, which analysed their thoughts on the negative factors responsible for the decline of states/societies and dynasties. The factors include indulgence in the life of luxury, oppression, and injustice, imposing a heavy tax on the subjects, corruption and favouritism; also, it deals with the impact of Ibn Khaldun to Uthman bin Foduye's thought on societal change.

Finally, the sixth chapter summarises the findings of each chapter and concludes with recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONTRIBUTION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE IN CHANGING NIGERIAN SOCIETY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the historical background of Nigerian society from the earliest time of its formation to the modern time. It first examines the etymology of the term Nigeria. The chapter further studied Nigerian features, which include its geographical location, population distribution, and religious percentages. However, the chapter in its structure traced on how and when Islam reached into the Hausaland, which is a region where Uthman bin Foduye contributed in changing the society. It further surveys the role of Muslim reformers in the earlier time of sixteenth-century, prior to the emergence of Uthman bin Foduye. Furthermore, the chapter narrates the biography of Uthman bin Foduye, whereupon it explores his educational record and its influence in his changing the society. Similarly, the chapter describes the significant contribution made by Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society in its evolutionary and revolutionary periods. Additionally, in the evolutionary period, the chapter highlights the role of Uthman bin Foduye's teaching and preaching without any acts of fighting. Moreover, the chapter further scrutinises the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in its revolutionary period which he successfully defeated the rulers of Hausaland and established his Islamic government that later known as the Sokoto Caliphate in what is today the Northern part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In addition, the chapter studied various factors responsible for the decline of the Sokoto Caliphate by the colonial invasion in 1903.

2.2 Historical Background of Nigerian Society

Despite the fact that Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, understanding the origin of its name is of paramount importance in this study. Although there are different opinions among researchers and historians about what produced the single name Nigeria, it is noteworthy that until the turn of the 19th century the areas embraced in whole or in part by the then geographical expression now named “Nigeria” were referred to by a variety of names. The immediate predecessors have been noted: the province of Lagos, the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the “territories in the basin of the Niger and its affluent” administered by the Royal Niger Company. Similarly, other earlier names reflecting the caprice of the cartographer or traveller, included “Sudan or Nigritia”, “Hausa” states, Central Sudan, Guinea Coast, Slave Coast, Niger Empire, and Niger Sudan. The initial formal recognition of the name “Nigeria” appeared in the debate in the House of Commons on the Royal Niger Company Bill in July 1899. Several persons have tried, however, to discover who coined the name.¹⁶⁰ As stated by A. H. M. Kirk-Greece in the London *Times*. In the January 8, 1897, issue the *Times* suggested that:

... as the title “Royal Niger Company’s Territories” is not only inconvenient to use but to some extent is also misleading. It may be permissible to coin a shorter title for the agglomeration of pagan¹⁶¹ and Muhammadan¹⁶² states, which have been brought by the exertions of the Royal Niger Company, within the confines of a British Protectorate, and thus need for the first time in their history to be described as an entity by some general name...¹⁶³

Interestingly, according to the historical development of the country, the name “Nigeria” was first given to the North.¹⁶⁴ This opinion might have assumed that since

¹⁶⁰ James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (London: University of California Press, 1971), P. 44.

¹⁶¹ This term is used to refer to those who are neither Muslim nor Christian. In pre-Islamic Nigerian period, they are those who were worshipping different objects. Accordingly, they are the major types of people that Uthman bin Foduye wanted to reform at the time of his appearance.

¹⁶² The term was originally used by orientalist to denote a Muslim or who believed in the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), or to mean Islamic religion respectively.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

‘Niger’ in pre-colonial period has been in the Northern Province and at the same time a state in the Northern part of Nigeria. Anyway, all these are in one hand. On the other hand, Abdul-Aziz opined that the word Nigeria is formed from two nouns namely, Niger and area. Niger is the name of one of the two largest and most vital rivers of Nigeria. In his view, this river, which might have been given different local names by the different ethnic groups who lived in its course, was renamed by the European colonialist as Niger. The word Niger itself derived from the word ‘nigger’ that is a deliberate and contemptuous ethnic abuse of the black skinned race.¹⁶⁵ Thus, he concluded that ‘nigger’ would mean ‘the river of the blacks’ while Nigeria would mean ‘place around the river of the blacks’.¹⁶⁶

2.3 Geographical Location

What is known, as Nigeria today is located on the West Coast of Africa, on the shores of the Gulf of Guinea (which includes the Bights of Benin and Biafra). It lies between the parallels of 4° and 14° North and is thus entirely within the tropics. It is surrounded on the south by the sea, on the West and North by the Republics of Dahomey and Niger, and on the East by the former German colony of Cameroon, now the Republic of Cameroon. Moreover, Nigeria came into being as a single political unit on January 1, 1960, when the former Province and Territory of Southern Nigeria (which included Lagos) was incorporated to the Province of Northern Nigeria to form the Province and Region of Nigeria.¹⁶⁷

After amalgamation, the country was organised as two groups of provinces, the Northern and Southern Provinces, and the Colony, which included the town and environs. The Southern Provinces was later, in 1939, divided into two groups, the

¹⁶⁵ The Oxford English Dictionary (Clarendon Oxford Press, Second Edition 1989) Vol. X, 402.

¹⁶⁶ Abdul-Fatatah Olaniyi Olayiwola Abdul-Aziz, *Islam in Nigeria: One Crescent many Focuses* (Shomolu, Lagos: Sakirabe Publishers, 2007), 1-2.

¹⁶⁷ Alan Burns, *History of Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Union Ltd, 1972), 16-17.

Eastern and Western Provinces. it should however be noted that Nigeria became independent on October 1st, 1960, as a Federation consisting of three Regimes, The Northern, Eastern and Western, with the Federal Territory of Lagos. These regions were identical with the areas formerly known as the Northern, Eastern and Western Provinces. On August 9, 1963, a part of the Western Province was detached to form a fourth, Mid-Western, Region. Finally, the Federation became a Republic on October 1, 1963. It is important to note that Nigeria is a member of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Meanwhile, an incident happens which led the Eastern Region separated from the Federation in May 1967 and finally declared itself to be the independent Republic of Biafra. Fighting then broke out and continued until January 15, 1970, when the Federal Government formally accepted the surrender of the Biafran forces.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, Nigeria was further separated into six geo-political zones, making it to Northeast, North-West, North-Central, Southeast, South-West, and South-South with Federal Capital Territory Abuja¹⁶⁹ at the Centre.

Some years later after independent, the Nigerian government in 1975, under Murtala Muhammad proposed to change the Federal Territory due to the serious problems of traffic jam in Lagos, and in order to maintain more security to the presidency among others. It was during the time of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, as Nigerian President from 1985 to 1993 that finally and officially moved the Federal Capital Territory from Lagos to Abuja on 12th December 1991. Abuja (FCT), the present Nigerian Capital Territory covers an area of 8,000 sqm. Km. this makes it more than twice the area of Lagos. The territory was carved out from three Nigerian states namely, Niger state¹⁷⁰ which contributed 79% of the land area and 71%

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Presently, Abuja is the capital-city of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

¹⁷⁰ Is a state located in Northcentral zone of Nigeria with its capital- city at Minna. It is one of the largest states in the country.

of the indigenous population, Nassarawa State¹⁷¹ which contributed 16% and 21% respectively, and finally, a Kogi State¹⁷² which made a contribution of 5% and 8% respectively.¹⁷³ It argues that among the reasons why the Capital Territory was shifted to Abuja is to maintain unity among Nigerians since Abuja was the centre of the country. Perhaps this might have extinguished the problem of sectionalism.¹⁷⁴

2.4 Population Distribution

That Nigerian population has been increasing since independence (1960). Accordingly, as of Saturday, May 21 2016, the current total population of Nigeria was estimated to be 186, 408, 264 according to the latest United Nations estimates.¹⁷⁵ Nigeria had a population of 45.2 million people in 1960.¹⁷⁶

2.5 Religion in Nigeria

In Nigeria, up till now, the major tribal group of the population in the entire Northern Areas was the Hausa-Fulani,¹⁷⁷ the Yoruba¹⁷⁸ in the Western Provinces, and the Ibo¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹ Is a state in North-Central Nigeria with its capital-city at Keffi

¹⁷² Is a state in North- Central Nigeria with its capital –city at Lokoja.

¹⁷³ Federal Capital Abuja (2003). Retrieved from: <http://links.onlinenigeria.com/abujaadv.asp?blurb=387>. Accessed on 10 May 2016.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Nigeria Population: World meter. Accessed on 21 May 2016.

¹⁷⁶ Retrieved from Nigerian Population 1960-2016. <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/population>. Accessed 21 May 2016.

¹⁷⁷ As the name suggests, the Hausa/Fulani are two ethnic groups, which were formerly distinct but are now for all practical purposes intermixed to the extent of being regarded as one inseparable ethnic nation. Although found throughout the grassland belt of West Africa, the bulk of the Hausa/Fulani population is concentrated in Northern Nigeria especially in and around the urban centres of Sokoto, Kano and Katsina which were important market centres on the southern section of the trans-Saharan caravan trade routes in the past. The coming of the Fulani into Hausaland resulted in significant changes in the area. They brought the full force of Islam which became a great factor of social life and culture. In education, dress, taste and outlook, the Hausa and their Fulani conquerors became part of the Islamic culture world. This influence remains till today. Today, Hausa/Fulani influence has spread over much of the culture areas to its immediate south where the Hausa language has become important. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://www.nigeriahouse.org/hausa.htm>. Separately, for more details on Fulani, see the footnote of page 6 in chapter one of this study. On Hausa, see page 74 of the present chapter.

¹⁷⁸ Historically, Yoruba is the dominant group in Western part of Nigeria. It is estimated that in Nigeria alone there live about ten to twelve million Yoruba's. The Yorubas, apart from occupying the present Western and Lagos states of Nigeria, are found in very large numbers in the southern sections of Dahomey and Togoland and are spread in smaller numbers in Sierra Leone, Ghana and almost all other countries in West Africa (Bilad al-Sudan). The Yoruba call themselves 'sons of Oduduwa'. They believe that Oduduwa was their original ancestor and a priest-king of Ile Ife. See Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria*, 107.

in the Eastern Provinces. Islam is the major Religion of the Hausa-Fulani group, and the majority of others Christian and Animist.¹⁸⁰ It should, however, be noted that in the early days, the greater number of the pure Negro inhabitants of Nigeria were non-monotheistic or simply pagans, while in the Northern part of Nigeria, the majority of the Negroid and Berber tribes are Muslims. Christianity in the country has made slow progress but comparatively, there are few areas where missionaries have operated and remained for long periods.¹⁸¹ Presently, with the total population of Nigeria Religions, based on overall statistics, Muslims constitute about 50% of the population while about 40% are Christians and 10% are pagans.¹⁸²

The said statistics of Nigeria Religions would not be surprising, because historically, Northern Nigeria was one of the most thoroughly Islamised areas in tropical Africa, and Islam was making vital developments among the peoples of central and Southwestern Nigeria. Undeniably, one of the missionary tactics was for Southern Nigeria has to serve as the frontline of the Christian advance up the Niger and Benue¹⁸³ through to Lake Chad.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ The major ethnic groups in the Eastern zone of Nigeria are Igbo, who are mainly found in Abia, Anambra and Imo, etc. states of modern Nigeria; the Efiks, the Ibibios and the Ogoja, who are found in the Cross River and Akwa-Ibon, etc. states, and the Delta inhabitants of the River state. The Igbo are negroid people, and historically they have no common tradition of origin or migration... They speak Igbo language which belongs to the Kwa sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of languages. See Ikechuku Mike nduka, *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time*, 290, and Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria*, 169.

¹⁸⁰ Alan Burns. *History of Nigeria*, 16.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 263.

¹⁸² Nations Encyclopaedia: Nigeria-Religions. Cited from: <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Nigeria-RELIGIONS.html>. Accessed on 20 May, 2016.

¹⁸³ Is a state situated in North central of Nigeria.

¹⁸⁴ Coleman, 93. Lake Chad, French Lac Tchad, freshwater lake located in the Sahelian zone of west-central Africa at the conjunction of Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Niger. It is situated in an interior basin formerly occupied by a much larger ancient sea that is sometimes called Mega-Chad. Historically, Lake Chad has ranked among the largest lakes in Africa, though its surface area varies greatly by season, as well as from year to year. When the surface of the lake is approximately 920 feet (280 metres) above sea level, the area is about 6,875 square miles (17,800 square km); in the early 21st century, ... (100 of 2,559 words). Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <https://global.britannica.com/place/Lake-Chad>.

2.6 Hausaland before the Emergence of Uthman bin Foduye

The Hausa language spread over a large area of Northern Nigeria, and especially around Sokoto¹⁸⁵, Kano¹⁸⁶, Zaria¹⁸⁷, and Bauchi¹⁸⁸ are the Hausa-speaking tribes, all more or less of Negroid origin. For many years, the Hausas were considered to be a distinct race, and the name was loosely applied to all the tribes that spoke the language. Many tribes, notably the Kebbawa¹⁸⁹, now claim to be the descendants of the original Hausa standard, but it is generally accepted that no Hausa race exists today, although the language is spoken by a great many tribes as a mother tongue and as a supplementary language.¹⁹⁰ Hausa is an easy language to acquire. It has become the lingua franca of a large part of West Africa, and it is the only language of West Africa, which has been reduced to writing by the Africans with modified Arabic characters being used. There is no place in the Northern half of Africa where no one could be found who spoke or understood the Hausa language. Likewise, today many Hausa-speaking people can be found in Saudi Arabia.¹⁹¹

Hausaland consisted of a number of city-states believed to be well organised and influential. These states formed between the 11th and 12th centuries, by the coming together of fenced towns, which formed the political divisions of the Hausa.¹⁹² These states are divided into two different groups, each encompassing seven original states

¹⁸⁵ Presently, it is the headquarter of Sokoto State Government. It is one of the largest states in Nigeria and situated in Northwestern part of the country.

¹⁸⁶ Kano is the second most populous Nigerian States and centre of commerce. It is located in Northwestern part of the country.

¹⁸⁷ Now, Zaria is a local government under Kaduna State in North Western Nigeria. It is one of the largest States in the country. Historically, Zaria is an old walled town. Probably founded in about 1536, later in the century it became the capital of the Hausa state of Zazzau. Both town and state were named for Queen Zaria (late 16th century), younger sister and successor of Zazzau's ruler Queen Amina. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <https://global.britannica.com/place/Zaria-Nigeria>.

¹⁸⁸ Presently, Bauchi is a state in Northeastern Nigeria with its capital-city at Bauchi.

¹⁸⁹ Kebbawa tribe was among the seven worthless Hausa, who were said to have ascribed a Songhai father and a Katsina mother. Murray declared that by the 18th century the political division between the 'empires' of Songhai and Bornu, which may have reflected ethnic differences, had disappeared. See Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, ixv.

¹⁹⁰ Alan Burns. *History of Nigeria*, 46.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Trimingham, J. S. *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* (London: Longman, 1968), 46.

belonging to only Hausa people namely: Kano, Katsina¹⁹³, Zazzau,¹⁹⁴ Gobir,¹⁹⁵ Duara,¹⁹⁶ Rano¹⁹⁷, and Biram¹⁹⁸ or Garun Gabas.¹⁹⁹ The non-original Hausa states were those consisting of different ethnic groups who adopted Hausa as their language of communication. They included Kebbi,²⁰⁰ Zamfara,²⁰¹ Nupe,²⁰² Yauri,²⁰³ Borgu and

¹⁹³ Now, Katsina is a state situated in the North West Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria. Its capital town is Katsina. The state has a large deposits of kaolin and asbestos. The capital town is a tourist attraction because of the wall that surrounds it with its seven different gates. Other tourist attractions are the Palaces of the Emirs of Katsina and Daura. Known as the Home of Hospitality. In the 2006 Population and Housing Census, Katsina state is made up of 2,948,279 males and 2,853,305 females. See "National Population Commission, Nigeria: Data for National Development." Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php/katsina-state>.

¹⁹⁴ Zazzau is one of the largest and ancient traditional emirates in Nigeria. It is also known as Zaria Emirate/Zegzeg. It is local Government council in Kaduna state, Northern Nigeria with its Headquarters at Zaria city. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://www.funkeoyinbopepper.com/stories/zazzau-early-hausa-kingdom-in-nigeria/>.

¹⁹⁵ Gobir was a city-state in what is now Nigeria. Founded by the Hausa in the 11th century. Gobir was one of the seven original Kingdom of Hausaland, and continued under Hausa rule for nearly hundred years. Its capital was the city of Alkalawa. See CTI (Reviews), *Africa and the African in the Nineteenth Century, A Turbulent history: Word History, History of Africa*. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <https://books.google.com.my/books?>.

¹⁹⁶ Daura claims to be the oldest of the Hausa states, and the famous legend of Bayajida's marriage with the Queen of Daura gives this claim some support. Today, Daura is a local Government Area of Katsina state in North Western Nigeria. See J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*, 73.

¹⁹⁷ In present day, Rano is a Local Government Area of Kano State, Nigeria with its headquarters in Rano town. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Rano&item_type=topic.

¹⁹⁸ Before the Fulani conquest of Uthman bin Foduye at the beginning of the 19th century, Biram or Garin Gabas was one of the emirates under the country now known as the Hadejia Emirates in Jigawa state, North Western Nigeria, whose chiefs received their titles from, and owed allegiance to, the Galadima of Bornu. See J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria*, 265.

¹⁹⁹ Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Māsur fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Tukrūr*, Abubakar Mahmud Gumi (ed.) (Al-Qhirah: al-Ittihad al-Ishtirak al-Arabi, 1964), 43-6. Quoted from *A Short History of Islamic Scholarship in Hausaland* by A. M. Gada, 2010, 1.

²⁰⁰ Presently, Kebbi is a State located in the North West Geo-Political Zone of Nigeria. It was created out of Sokoto State. The State capital is Birnin Kebbi. Major towns in the state include Argungu and Yelwa. The state is known for its famous annual Argungu fishing festival, which is celebrated with a lot of pomp and pageantry. Mineral resources found in the state include limestone, salt, clay and gypsum. This is the Land of Equity. In the 2006 Population and Housing Census, Kebbi state is made up of 1,631,629 males and 1,624,912 females. See "National Population Commission, Nigeria: Data for national Development". Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php/kebbi-state>.

²⁰¹ Originally, Zamfara are said to be descendent from a Katsina father and a Gobir mother. However, Murray Last argued that the presence of Zamfara among the worthless Hausa states is perhaps part of Gobir propaganda to justify their defeat of Zamfara: the lists of Hausa and 'Banza' (worthless) people which are given by Bello and Abdul Qadir b. Al-Mustapha are probably derived from a source written under Gobir ascendancy. See Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, ixv-ixvi. Presently, Zamfara is a state in North-western Nigeria with its capital city at Gusau.

²⁰² During the 15th century what is now Nupe was ruled over by a number of minor Beni chiefs under the chief of Nku, a small town near the place where the Niger and Kaduna rivers joined. But they were all subject to the Atta of Igala at Idah, and they had to pay him tribute in the form of one male from each household. See J. Hogben, 140. Presently, Nupe is an Emirate with its headquarters at Bida Local Government Area of Niger state in North-Central Nigeria. The traditional title of the king is 'Etsu Nupe'.

²⁰³ Yauri is an ancient Hausa state, being one of the Banza Bakwai (seven worthless states) of the legend. There are many versions of its origin, but it seems clear that the island Gungawa were among the first settlers. Bin Yuari, locally called birnin Yawari, is supposed to be 1,000 years old; the islanders know it

Gurma.²⁰⁴ Hausaland have an organised system of government. However, all these states were independent of each other, in the sense that the king or ruler of each state was the supreme governor of the state. Although, where there is any matter of urgency, they united to support each other and to fend off attacks from their enemies. Geographically, Hausaland is located in the central West Africa neighbouring Songhay²⁰⁵ in the West and Borno and Songhay formally controlled by Kanem Borno in the East.²⁰⁶

2.7 The Coming of Islam into Hausaland

As has been seen earlier that Islam is the major religion in Nigeria, particularly in the Northern part of the country. This could be because “Islam is the latest of all the divinely inspired or the major religions of the world. It advanced in the full light of history and human knowledge. The factors and causes for its spread, development and triumph could be fully explained without resorting to assumption. Contrary to other religions, Islam can be explained in the light of history”.²⁰⁷ Kano and Katsina being the major commercial centre in Hausaland had contributed the emergence of various Muslim scholars from neighbouring places particularly scholars from North Africa.

as Ireshe Bino. The surviving Yauri language of Tsureshe is said to derive from the people who settled in Kambu and Achirra, now ruined towns to the East of Bin Yauri. See J. Hogben, 136. Now, Yauri is an Emirate in Kebbi state, Northwestern Nigeria.

²⁰⁴ Muhammad bello, 43-6. The Emirate of borgu included the country lying West of the Niger state, Nigeria, from Yelwa down to Jebba, right to the border with Dahomey. By tradition the founder of the Borgu people was Kisra, who is believed to have been the leader of a group of people in Arabia who were forced to seek new homes in the West after refusing to accept the teachings of Islam. See J. Hogben, 330.

²⁰⁵ Songhay was a distinct state from the eight to the sixteenth centuries. The Songhay people have occupied throughout historical times the country on both banks of the Middle Niger. See Burn, *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time*, 47.

²⁰⁶ Sulaiman Ibrahim. (nd). *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Shehu Usman dan Fodio*. London and New York: Mansell Publishing Limited, 5. Similarly, Gurma being one of the seven worthless Hausa states, now it has splited up into six sub-Saharan countries. This includes Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso and Togo. In Nigeria, their population numbered to 36, 500. Their primary religion is ethnic religions, which is deeply rooted in people's ethnic identity and conversation essentially equates to cultural assimilation. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://www.peoplegroups.org/Explore/groupdetails.aspx?peid=13816>.

²⁰⁷ Smith, B., *Muhammad and Muhammadanism* (London: nd. 1876), 17, in A. M. Gada, 46.

Islam reached Hausaland and other parts of West Africa through commercial activities.²⁰⁸

Moreover, it is interesting to note that before the advent of Islam into Hausaland, the Hausa people were irreligious; their religiosity extended a level where it began to be regarded as inconsistent with the acceptable faith of Islam. Therefore, Islam introduced into Hausaland in the 14th century, despite the fact that it existed in the Borno Empire since the 11th century. Between these periods, Hausaland entered into the trans-Saharan trade with their neighbours in Northern-Africa.²⁰⁹

2.8 The Role of Earliest Islamic Reformers in Hausaland

The present discussion concentrates on the role of Muslim scholars who had gradually revived Islam in Hausaland. From the time that Islam entered the region, it became the religion of the land but it mixed with traditions. The Islamic state rose and fell depending on the commitments of the rulers in maintaining the state. The first example of Islamic reform that took place in Hausaland is the ones during the reign of Sarki (ruler) Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) as an Islamic reformer in Kano.²¹⁰ He contributed to the development of Islam in his state. It is reported that he shunned acts of syncretism and disallowed practising un-Islamic activities in his state. He was hospitable to Islamic scholars who visited his state, encouraged, and supported their activities of teaching and preaching. On the top of that, he took advantage of the presence of Islamic scholars to seek for guidance on how to rule according to the dictates of Shari'a. It was because of Rumfa's full support to Islam that the famous Islamic scholar Shaykh Abdul-Karim Al-Maghili from Tuwat wrote the famous Kano

²⁰⁸ A. M. Gada, *A Short History of Early Islamic Scholarship in Hausaland* (Abakwa, Kaduna: Nadabo Print Production, 2010), 42-43.

²⁰⁹ Barkindo, B.M. *et-al*, *Africa and the Wider World I: West and North Africa since 1800*, Nigeria, (Nigeria: Longman Ltd, 1989), np.

²¹⁰ A. M. Kani, "The Place of Kano in the Intellectual History of Bilad al-Sudan", *DEGEL: Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies*, Vol. ii (September 1999), 53-55.

constitution for the guidance of Rumfa. The constitution was popularly known as *Tāj al-Dīn fīma Yajib ʿala al-Mulūk* (i.e. The Obligation of Princes). The book contains important guidelines for the ruler of Kano and by extension the rulers of Hausaland.²¹¹ Similarly, Al-Maghili has written an important treatise with the title of *Wasiyyah Jumla al-Mukhtaṣara*, although it is not renowned as *Taj al-Din*. It is noteworthy that the book was written for the guidance of Sarki Rumfa and it was written shortly after *Taj al-Din*. Conversely, the *Wasiyyah* dealt with specific issues relating to legal punishment (Taʿazir) which Sarki Rumfa requested from Shaykh Al-Maghili.²¹² The foregoing indicates the social and political reforms that were carried out in Kano, which undoubtedly marked the extent of the development of Islam in the history of Hausaland.

However, the social reform only took place in one of the largest states of Hausaland, the Kano. This caused others to argue that it is not known whether the reform affected the other states of Hausaland. But it could be said that its impact went beyond Kano especially since Muhammad Korau of Katsina and Muhammad Rabo of Zazzau were almost contemporaries of Sarki Rumfa. Their contribution and commitment to the development of Islamic law in their states are well recognised. Muhammad Sulaiman argues on this point that “even if the impact of such reforms had remained limited and localised within their states, their influence and contribution cannot be ignored. And it is against this background and the legacies that they left behind one would like to see the political and social reforms of Uthman bin Foduye in line with the dictate of Islam as a continuous event”.²¹³ More so, Shaykh Al-Maghili greatly influenced Uthman bin Foduye, despite the fact that he emerged three hundred years after Al-Maghili’s death. Nevertheless, his literature is still circulating in West Africa. Uthman used to cite him in most of his writings to substantiate his argument.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Muhammad D. Sulaiman, “The Sokoto Jihad, Shari’a and Minorities in Northern Nigeria”, in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*. Vol. 2, edited by H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu (Kaduna, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria), 223-4.

For example in chapter four of his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-Ikhwān*,²¹⁴ he mentioned his treatise, which he specifically wrote to the Sultan of Kano. With this, the impact of Al-Maghili's social reform to Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society cannot be disputed.

2.9 The Decline of the Hausa Kingdom

At the beginning of the 18th century, the part of Hausaland, in what is presently Northern Nigeria, was in a state of social disorder. Cultural separations between the Fulani people, who were a typically itinerant herdsman, and the dominant agricultural Hausa people continued despite the groups having engaged the same part for about five hundred years. Not only did the groups have diverse professions, their societies were structured in a different way. They spoke diverse languages and while both groups were initially Muslim, this was true more for the Fulani than the Hausa, whose rulers still practised outdated innate religions. Corruption was prevalent in the government of Hausa states, with appointments based on bribes rather than excellence.²¹⁵ It is believed that these were the major problems led to the gradual decline of the Hausa States. Nevertheless, many scholars have illustrated the 18th century Hausaland as a type of "dark age" or era of decline²¹⁶

In spite of the above, others have opined that the decline of 18th century was not only limited to the Hausaland, but rather to the entire world. In view of this, Ahmad Tahir has mentioned in his thesis that although politically and military, the 18th and 19th centuries could be regarded as a period of decline for the Muslim World. This could be in culturally and economically, the period said to a time of increasing Islamic

²¹⁴ For more details about Al-Maghili's letter in Uthman bin Fofuye's *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān*, see chapter six of the book, in *Selected Writings of Uthman bin foduye*, vol. 3, edited and translated by Sulaiman Musa and Adamu Bala, 30.

²¹⁵ Sa'ad Abubakar, *Notes on Sakkwato Jihad*, (Kaduna, Nigeria: Joyce Graphic Printers & Publishers Co., 2003), 11-12.

²¹⁶ Abdullahi Hakim Quick, *Aspects of Islamic Social Intellectual History in Hausaland: Uthman bin Fudi*, 72.

Inspirations. The reason is that in Central as in Southeast Asia, West Africa, and East Africa Muslim settlers, traders, mobile scholars, and *Sūfi* Shaykhs were busy handling businesses, exchanging thoughts and imparting Islam to the local people. It was in this difficult situation of apprehension; and being politically and militarily helpless on the one hand, and of interaction and dissemination of ideas in a multicultural Islamic world on the other that the Islamic revolutionary movements, in their different forms, emerged.²¹⁷ It is agreed that Uthman bin Foduye emerged at the end of this period.

The foregoing clearly illustrates the nature of the government of Hausaland and its geographical location. It is also understood that un-Islamic practices, acts of injustices and oppressions as well as disintegration had been prevalent in the land. These and many other things were the root causes of the decline of Hausa states. Hypothetically, such issues were the major problems confronted by Muslim scholars who attempted to reform and organise their society at the early 18th century according to the dictate of Sharī‘a. Such among those scholars was Jibril bin Umar²¹⁸ the greatest and respected Shaykh to Uthman bin Foduye, who failed to achieve his target due to the lack systematic approach. Although others opine that Uthman’s Shaykh did not achieve reformation of society in Hausaland, because Allah had told him that this job was reserved for Uthman bin Foduye.²¹⁹ This was likely a mystical account.

²¹⁷ Ahmad Tahir, *The Social Writings of Shaykh ‘Uthmān bin Fūdi*, 129.

²¹⁸ Shaykh Jibril was a learned and controversial figure. He was originally from Agadez in present day, Niger Republic. He had gone on the pilgrimage early and returned to preach and teach among the Tuaregs. His preaching was rigorous, defining a Muslim by the strictest standards, which became the subject of disagreement between him and Uthman bin Foduye. the date of his death was not confirmed. It is only mentioned that he did not stay long at Mecca. He was back in Adar by about (1786), when Uthman bin Foduye and his brother, Abdullah visited him. Apart from this date, no when he died is mentioned. But he died near Madaoua (Now, is a town located in Tahoua in Niger Republic), and his son, Muhammadan, was in Adar, before joining Uthman bin Foduye at the beginning of his Jihad. See Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 6-7.

²¹⁹ Jennifer Loftkrantz, “Intellectual Discourse in the Sokoto Caliphate: The Triumvirate's Opinions on the Issue of Ransoming, C.A. 1810”, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (2012), 387.

2.10 The Biography of Uthman bin Foduye

Uthman bin Foduye's full name is 'Uthman bin Muhammad bin 'Uthman bin Salih commonly known as Ibn Foduye²²⁰ was born on Sunday 15th December, 1754 at Maratta a city in Gobir²²¹ state of the Hausaland. He later came to be known as Shehu²²² (Shaykh) 'Uthman bin Foduye.²²³ His descendants came from Futa Toro in present-day Senegal.²²⁴

Based on the available information to Abdullahi bin Foduye concerning their main origin, he clearly stated that their town is Torobe, which is the town of those that had come from Futa. They are the uncles of all Fulāni's, and Fulfulde is their language because Uqbah bin Amir the righteous fighter who conquered the towns of the West (Morocco) (in general Africa) during the Era of Amr bin al-As in Egypt had come to them. Abdullahi further illustrated that they were one of the Roman tribes, and their king became Muslim without any fight. In consequence, 'Uqba got married to the daughter of their king, and her name was Bojjo Mango. He fathered all the Fulanis. Abdullah emphasised that this is the recurrent (hence prevalent) account in their place, and they have taken it from trustworthy people who used to come forth from the town of Futa. He therefore reiterated that he means scholars. Thus, those people from Futa Toro they were spoken the language of their mother, and they did not know the language of their father because of the scarcity of those who spoke the language at that time. It is reported that the children of Uqba were the first spoken the Fulfulde language. This is

²²⁰ Different terms are used in addressing Uthman bin Foduye. Therefore, 'Uthman bin Foduye is the actual name to recognize him, but ibn is in Arabic which is equivalent to Dan in Hausa and Son in English respectively. Similarly, the word Foduye, is the Arabized name and Fodio is in English while on the other hand Fodiyo is in Hausa. It is understood that, these are the reasons why some people are addressing him as 'Usman Dan Fodio or Danfodiyo and Foduye respectively. In order to avoid inconsistencies, this study uses 'Uthman bin Foduye as he used in most of his writings.

²²¹ Usman Muhammad Bugaje, *The Contents, Method and Impacts of Shaykh 'Uthmān Dan Fodio's Teachings (1774-1804)* (Master's Degree, University of Khartoum, 1979), 14.

²²² Shehu is in Hausa which is equivalent to Shaykh in Arabic meaning a great scholar or learned fellow in English.

²²³ Foduye or Fodio is a nickname of 'Uthman's father. Foduye is the Fulani term meaning "a teacher". Therefore, Uthman bin Foduye means Uthman 'son of the teacher'

²²⁴ Abdullah bin Fudi, *Idah al-Nusukh*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol xix, 1957, 551-559.

far from the truth. Conversely, languages had existed from the time of Adam, and because that the claim appears as strange. The word that is nearest (to the truth) is that they were spoken the language of their mother, and the Torobe (Fulani) did not have any basic language besides that one.²²⁵

Similarly, the mother of Uthman bin Foduye was Hauwa. She was the daughter of Muhammad bin Fatima bint Muhammad bin Abdussamad bin Ahmad al-Shareef bin Ali al-Yanbu'i bin Abdurrazaq bin Yusuf bin Yusha' bin Wardi Batul bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Isa bin Muhammad bin al-Hassan al-Sibt bin Ali bin Abi Talib and Fatima al-Zahra al-Battul the daughter of Muhammad bin Abdullah. The seal of the Prophets and the master of the Messengers, May Allah bless them and grant them peace.²²⁶ In addition, Uthman bin Foduye's mother Hauwa bint Muhammad, especially through her mother Ruqayya linked to the branch of the family most renowned for its learning.²²⁷

It is earlier mentioned that his appearance was foretold before his birth, therefore, Uthman bin Foduye in his Fulani poem thanks Almighty Allah for the blessings specifically given to him, in which, he clearly says, "he believed that Prophet Muhammad's appearance was foretold before his coming, likewise his appearance was foretold before he came".²²⁸

Furthermore, it is pertinent to note that the details of Uthman's childhood are not evidently known except what was found in some folktale in the Fulani literature, which

²²⁵ Abdullahi bin Foduye *Tazyin al-Waraqāt* (Decorating Pages with Some of my Poems), Translated and edited by Abubakar Buba Luwa and Sulaiman Musa, in *Selected Writings of Shaykh Abdullah ibn Foduye*, Vol. 2, (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House), 17.

²²⁶ Al-Tahir bin Abdussalam al-Hayuwī, *Hissan al-Salām Bayna Awlād Mulai Abdussalam*. (np. Dār al-Thaqāfah, Bayda, 1978), 436.

²²⁷ The Shaykh's descent from the Prophet is through Hawwa' bint Muhammad bint Fatimah bint al-Shareef; Abdussamad derives his claim to being a Shareef through Moulay Idris of Morocco (see *Infāq al-Maysur* of Muhammad Bello. P. 181-2). Although, this would be known to the Abdullah, neither mentions it; instead the Shaykh refutes those who say he is the Mahdi on the grounds that he is not a descendant of the Prophet (see *Tahdhīr al-Ikhwān min iddi a' al-Mahdiyyah* of Uthman bin Foduye), 2.

²²⁸ Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef bin Farid, *Introduction and Translations of Uthman bin Foduye's Ihya' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlāḍ al-Bid'a*, 19.

contains their various *Karāma* (miraculous).²²⁹ Most of such literatures were gathered after his death. They contain mythical stories and miraculous that was repeatedly linked with the live of important personalities, particularly after their death. Numerous of those stories are connected to Uthman. This should not be surprising if it recalled that the Fulani authors observed for their perfect of writing in the literature of the Orthodox period of Islam, and the fact that such folklores are verbally conveyed concerning Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) himself.²³⁰ This is a sufficient reason for some of the Fulani authors to cover their favourite leader in a like story.²³¹ It is informative to note that Uthman's life has been compared closely to that of the Prophet.²³² This is because Ibn Foduye's desire for the change in the conduct and behaviours of the people in Hausaland is fully rooted in Islam and it derived its credibility from the historical origin of Islam. The model for the Sokoto *Jihād* movement was that of Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) movement to establish, sponsor and entrench Islam. The fact that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was a model for Ibn Foduye is not at all surprising because one of the guiding principles of Islam is to follow the Sunnah, and imitate the life of the Prophet (PBUH).²³³ For example, in order to substantiate this statement, and to show the importance of following the Sunnah of the Prophet, Almighty Allah says "And whatsoever the Prophet (PBUH) gives you, take it; and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it). And fear Allah; verily, Allah is Severe in punishment".²³⁴

For the similarities between the life of Uthman bin Foduye and that of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), it can be found in the poems of Nana Asma'u, daughter of Uthman bin Foduye. Thereupon, she describes specific points of comparison between

²²⁹ Fathi El-Masri, "The Life of Shaykh 'Uthman Dan Fodio before the Jihad", J.H.S.N. Vol.2, No.4, Dec.1963, 435.

²³⁰ Isma'il A. B. Bologun. *The Life and Works of 'Uthman Dan Fodio: The Muslim Reformer of West Africa* (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1975), 98.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ahmad Bello, "The Influence of Early Muslim on the Jihad Leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate" A Journal of Islamic Sciences and Muslim development, Vol. 10, (2014), 75-6.

²³⁴ Qur'an, *Surat al-Hashr*, 59: 7.

the two and their activities, which she emphasised that initial periods of preaching a *Hijra* and a battle against all odds, itinerancy, attacks and desertion of troops, peace overtures, and amalgamation gesturing the successful end to the campaign. Interestingly, the fifth chapter of Nana Asma'u's book carries the title: "Sokoto as Madinah: Imitating the life of the Prophet and Re-enacting History".²³⁵ Uthman bin Foduye died at the age of 63²³⁶ and buried within the city walls of Sokoto, where his tomb²³⁷ is still a place of pilgrimage.²³⁸

2.11 Uthman bin Foduye's Education and Teachers

Knowing the educational background of Uthman bin Foduye is of highest importance in this study to understand the philosophy behind his knowledge and its subsequent outcomes and influences to his entire society. Uthman dedicated his early life to learning. During his childhood, he dedicated his time mainly to understanding the fundamental things of Islam. This system of education from childhood through youthful as well as the entire lifetime was the features of Uthman bin Foduye's society, particularly among members of his tribe. Uthman grew up in a similar way of some youth of his contemporaries into a well-known scheme of education. The summary of this scheme is significantly important vital to the understanding of Uthman's early life and his mission. El-Masri observed that:

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 60

²³⁷ The name of Uthman bin Foduye's tomb is *Hubbaren* Shehu and it is presently in Sokoto. People are visiting the place for tourism not only from within Nigeria but even from Nigerian neighbouring countries, while others considered the place for pilgrimage to seek *barakah* (blessings) from the Shehu (Uthman). At the same time, most of the Muslim scholars criticised it pointing out that it is an act of innovation that was totally forbidden in Islam. Therefore, to worship a grave of any important personality is a major *Shirk*. In fact, even Uthman bin Foduye condemned such action and categorised it as *Haram* (forbidden). Therefore, it is not part of his teachings and the legacies that he left behind to his society. The executive governor of Sokoto state, Alhaji Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa has blocked the circumambulation of Uthman's grave by ordering the build of a small wall on one side of the grave in order to barricade anybody going round. Nevertheless, some people are still there for day and night to get *barakah* from Uthman bin Foduye. (This was the researchers' familiarisation visit on 16 September 2015).

²³⁸ Hongsbén, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 123.

Once a child acquired a fundamental knowledge of the faith, knows reading and writing. The student would then move to the erudite scholar to be in his company until he mastered different sciences in which he became famous; once he completed his education to the fulfilment of a master of a particular field, a certificate would be given to him to impart what he had been educated, with the permission of the scholar. In this regard, the student would further travel to different scholars to study and collect certificates until he becomes a renowned scholar. However, this system, would never cut at a specific age or stage. Just in case an intellectual person was present who academically specialised in a particular field even though a foreigner or a resident many people would go to learn under him; this is the reason why Uthman bin Foduye continued travelling to study while at the same time he was teaching and preaching.²³⁹

To understand and appreciate the intellectual ability of Uthman bin Foduye, it is significant to note that Waziri Gidado dan Laima, the secretary of Uthman bin Foduye, catalogued more than eighty-eight scholars from whom Uthman received knowledge from as far as the lands of today Northern-Mali in the West to Darfur in today's Western-Sudan in the East.²⁴⁰

Uthman's system of education contained in its syllabus a great multiplicity of themes that are not only related to Islam, but then in the etymology, syntax, grammar and prosody of the Arabic linguistic. Hence, it was frequently the medium of teaching. Major in the syllabus is Qur'ānic exegesis and Prophetic traditions, because of which the Bukhari's Authentic Compilation was the greatest used text. Next in significance was the study of the autobiography of the Prophet (PBUH) from his birth to death. Fundamentally, more importance was the study of Islamic jurisprudence comprising all aspects of rule, from private, which include the law of mutual transaction, criminal, constitutional and so on to the rites. Comprised also in this syllabus were astrological Islamic sciences dealing with the universe and *Tasawwuf*.²⁴¹

²³⁹ El-Masri, El-Masri, "The life of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio before the Jihad", J. H. S. N. (II) 4, (1963), 435-48.

²⁴⁰ Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shereef bin Farid, *Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye's Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlād al-Bid'a*, 23

²⁴¹ Abdullahi Dan Fodio *Ida al-Nusukh* taken from El-Masri, 435-48.

It was not astonishing for Uthman who certainly not spared a chance to increase more to his understanding. Famous among numerous teachers of Uthman, in addition to his father, was his uncle who was an honest and pious scholar, he was Uthman Biddūri, it is reported that this scholar not only educated him but also influenced him extraordinarily. Another scholar of truthful knowledge and uncle to Uthman bin Foduye was Muhammad Sambo, who educated him the summarised book of al-Khalil²⁴². Another famous teacher was Abdul-Rahman bin Hammada who educated him the science of grammar and syntax. Jibril bin ‘Umar, a Tuareg scholar of extraordinary knowledge and revolutionary eagerness had interaction with the Middle-Eastern Muslim World through his pilgrimage. Most of Uthman’s revolutionary enthusiasm was derived from this teacher.²⁴³

The influence of Shaykh Jibrin ‘Umar to Uthman bin Foduye is highly interesting because Uthman travels to Aghadez then stayed with Jibril for one year while he was studying. Following Jibril on his second Hajj, Uthman returned home, since his father did not give him permission to follow his teacher to Mecca. It was in this situation they separated.²⁴⁴ This happened in 1780. In 1786-7, when Jibril returned from Hajj, Uthman and his brother, Abdullah visited him in which, they stayed with him for certain days during which he taught them Islamic theology. He issued them a certificate to impart what he educated them”.²⁴⁵ Immediately after Jibril’s return from his second Hajj, he offered a “flag of conquest”²⁴⁶ to Uthman. This indicates that Jibril

²⁴² This refers to *Al-Mukhtasar* of Diyā’ al-Dīn Khalil bn Ishaq al-Jundi (d. 1365 C.E.). See Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shereef Abu Farid, *Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye’s Ihyā’ al-Sunnah wa Ikmād al-Bid’*, 21.

²⁴³ Usman Muhammad Bugaje, *The Contents, Method and Impacts of Shaykh ‘Uthmān Dan Fodio’s Teachings (1774-1804)*, 16.

²⁴⁴ Balogun, *The Life and Works of ‘Uthman Dan Fodio: The Muslim Reformer of West Africa*, 563.

²⁴⁵ Abdullahi bin. Foduye, *Decorating Pages*, 92-93.

²⁴⁶ It means the ‘Flag’, which encouraged Uthman bin Foduye to go and change the evil acts in Hausaland and conquer its territories by establishing Islamic society.

was the first person who gave Uthman support to change the political system of Hausaland.²⁴⁷

Further, the teachers of Uthman bin Foduye not only conveyed knowledge but also influenced him tremendously. For example, Jibril was the most influential person on Uthman but this did not prevent differences between them on a number of issues. What was exciting however is that this difference under no circumstances disturbed Uthman's reverence for his scholars. As Uthman advanced in knowledge and moved into his early maturity, his virtue and great easiness, excellent intelligent capacity and magnetic disposition started to attract followers from his instant society. He increasingly became renown among a group of new Muslim scholars and shared certain revolutionary thoughts.²⁴⁸

It was in that situation that Uthman bin Foduye became well popular throughout Hausaland. The people of Hausaland were ready to follow and obey him. This is because of their full support for his mission, as they believed Islam is the only way of life. The people of Hausaland equally believed that Uthman is an intellectual person who mastered various sciences of Islam.

2.12 The Fundamental Factors to Uthman's Thought on Societal Change

It is clearly seen in the detailed biography of Uthman bin Foduye that he was an intellectual person concerned with the development of his society. This was in accordance with the statement made by Malumfashi in his interview:

He pointed out that Uthman, having acquired a vast knowledge of Islamic sciences, and received a paramount orientation from his teachers; he however decided to use his knowledge for the development of his society. Hence, he (Uthman) thinks that he was supplied with all the facilities to bring about a lasting change in his society. In so doing, Uthman has

²⁴⁷ El-Masri, "The life of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio before the Jihad", 438.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

thoroughly studied his society and identified its problems, which include religious, social, and political aspects.²⁴⁹

In view of the above, it is reported that Uthman used to study the problems before finding their solutions.²⁵⁰ According to Bugaje, in order to maintain justice and appreciate the vital role played by Uthman bin Foduye, it is significant to describe the complexity of problems that are widespread in his society and hence gave him and his team the idea to bring about the change.²⁵¹ Perhaps, the problems are the basic factors to his thought on changing society. These problems will be clarified in the following discussion.

2.12.1 Ethnoreligious Problems in Hausaland

In Hausaland, one of the major problems that called the attention of Uthman bin Foduye to change the society was the religious belief of the people. Olayiwola observed that “despite there were groups of Muslims in the various region of Nigeria, non-monotheistic beliefs and practices were still prevalent. Mixed polytheistic practices and superstitions categorised social activities and religious faith of the people. Islamic rites were practised at their times, but were recurrently complemented with native delusory practices and beliefs. Conciliation of descendants and expenses reminiscent of people’s pre-Islamic involvements were continuously followed”.²⁵²

In view of the above, in Hausaland, hills, rocks, and mountains such as Dāla Hill in Kano continued to be worshipped. Belief in *Iskokī* (jins) and their power to induce fortune and misfortune went side by side with faith in *Qadar* (destiny). *Bokaye* (superstitions) *Māsu dūba* (tellers) and *Tauri* were believed to possess supernatural

²⁴⁹ Dr. Umar Faruk Malumfashi (Senior lecturer, Department of Islamic Studies, Bayero University, Kano, +2347030311330), Interviewed for in-depth information to this study at his resident in Kano metropolitan, Nigeria, 16 September 2015).

²⁵⁰ Sulaiman Musa, “The Da’wah and Approach of Shaykh Uthman Dan Foduye” Islamic Studies, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1989), pp. 397. Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20839971>. Accessed: 27-12-2015 17:49 UTC.

²⁵¹ Usman M. Bugaje, *The Sakkwato Model: A Study of the Origin, Development and Fruition of the Jihad of Uthman b. Fodye (1754-1817)* (A paper presented at an International Islamic Conference, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 1980), 6.

²⁵² Abdul Fattah Olayiwola Abdul Aziz, *Islam in Nigeria*, 32.

power. Fortune telling was rampant and Malluma (scholars) were believed to have a fair share in the control of destiny.²⁵³ Among the Fulānis, superstitious beliefs like the belief in Keuto-tira, which could be likened to the belief in spirits for the protection and multiplication of herds were common. Pulāku Ancestral codes of conduct, which must be followed, represented the Qur'anic and Hadith instructions on moral behaviours. People swore by Pulāku.²⁵⁴

To understand more about the traditional belief system of people in Hausaland, which nevertheless touches the heart of Uthman bin Foduye and his lieutenants to determine the necessary steps towards changing the society, Murray Last vividly declared that the Hausa supernatural world before the revolution of Uthman comprised of a bulky variety of spirits traced in a diversity of places.²⁵⁵ He added that spirits as a class of intermediaries, priests, magicians (e.g. *māyu*), devotees (*yan bori*) some served the political establishment, but *māyu*,²⁵⁶ and sometimes *yan bori*, were generally social untouchable. However, magicians on the other hand are generally of two kinds: the *boka*, a traditional healer and fortune-teller, who often comes from a family specialising in this useful form of magic; and the *māye*, an occultist, who works with a particular spirit and specialises in catching people's souls. Some *māyu* are said to have been born witches and cannot help it (like those having the evil eye); others have trained for the work. Both men and women can be *māyu* and they are usually indebted allegiance, at least in towns, to a leader who is strong enough to force them, if he wishes to disgorge their power.²⁵⁷

The above discussion illustrates the traditional belief system that has long existed in Hausaland prior to the revolution of Uthman bin Foduye. Despite the efforts by

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe of Fombina* (Zaria-Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1977), 37.

²⁵⁵ Murray Last, "A Notes on Attitude to the Supernatural in the Sokoto Jihad" *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (December 1967), 3. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41971197>. Accessed on 27-12-2015.

²⁵⁶ In Hausa, Is the plural of "māye", which literally means a magician or cultist in English.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Uthman as will be elaborated later, this act of traditional belief exists today but in secret and can probably take the name of cultism. One of the major problems of people in Hausaland was the real ignorance about Islam. Obviously, Hausaland was in darkness of ignorance. An Islamic society of this nature needs someone to reform and organise it according to the dictate of Sharī'a.

2.12.2 Politico-Economic Problems in Hausaland

The political set up in Hausaland was not in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Uthman bin Foduye realised that such an un-Islamic political systems need to be addressed in a systematic approach to avoid repeating the previous failure by those who attempted to change but failed.

In respect to the effects of politico-economic problems in Hausaland, Hamza and Isa Maishanu pointed out that half a century of fighting in Hausaland had serious consequences on both the state and society in the region. Continuous fighting similar to that in Gobir during the late 18th century brought about serious displacement in the society thereby, affecting its politico-economic life as well as its peace and strength. War and instability negate the pursuance of commerce and industry that has been the lifeline of Hausaland.²⁵⁸ Undeniably, the destructive half a century of warfare affected the prosperity of the region, and the states in the area turned more autocratic and arbitrary. Apart from the insecurity to which the peasantry was subjected, the people were over-burdened with heavy taxation and extortion by the ruling class. In Kano, for example, Sarkin Kano Kumbari Dan Sherafa (1713-43) was said to have nearly destroyed the Kurmi Market²⁵⁹ because of his propensity for extortion. This led many commercial groups to migrate to Katsina.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Hamza and Isa Muhammad Maishanu, "The Jihad and the Formation of the Sokoto Caliphate", Studies, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Spring 1999),122, *Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad*. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20837029>. Accessed on 24-03-2015 16:29 UTC.

²⁵⁹ Apart from being the oldest market in today's Kano State, which located in North-western part of Nigeria, it is popularly called in Hausa as "Kasuwar Kurmi". Unequivocally, it is one of the oldest

Hamza and Isa Maishanu added that the ‘*Ulamā*’ were not secured as the Sarki levied taxes on them. Similarly, Sarkin Kano Baba Zaki (1768-76) was very oppressive of his subjects to the extent that even the nobility, a class that had enjoyed relative security and prosperity in Hausaland, was not spared from his oppression. This class was “subjugated in every way and compelled to fight” for Sarkin Kano Baba Zaki. In Gobir, which was at the epicentre of activities in this period, life was very difficult and unbearable for the common man.²⁶¹

The political instability in Hausaland was rooted in the separation of leadership between the Hausa and the Fulani. To understand this declaration, Adeleye pointed out “Politically the Fulānis had remained aliens in Hausa land and Borno despite the fact that they had lived there for centuries. Without any regard to the substantial number of learned men among the Fulani’s, they suffered the disabilities of second-rate citizens at the hands of Hausa rulers. However, some Fulānis were observed to have served in the governments of many states in very high places, but this was not in their right as representative of Fulani groups, but rather on individual merits²⁶². In a similar manner, J.D Fage has also argued that appointments notwithstanding, the Fulanis had no voice in the selection of rulers’”.²⁶³ The isolation of Fulani, as noted by Adeleye was a common bond of ‘Pan-Fulānism’. It argues that the isolation of the Fulāni as a group created solidarity among them, with scattered groups in different localities in Hausaland and

markets in the West African sub-region. According to the historical chronicles, the market, which sits in the heart of Kano city (Kano Municipal Local Government Area) was established some 600 year ago purposely for the trade in slaves. During the period of the boom in human trade, many shps were set up in the market to keep slaves while awaiting buyers. Ironically, today, Kurmi market appears to be the sanctuary for Kano cultural heritages. It could be what described as the repository of the state’s artifacts. Actually, the market was built during the golden era of Kano, during the period of Muhammad Rumfa, who had a great influence in the religious, economic and social development of the city. Retrieved on 23,October, 2016, from http://www.nigeriagalleria.com/Nigeria/States_Nigeria/Kano/Kurmi-Market-Kano.html.

²⁶⁰ Anonymous, "Kano Chronicle", H.R. Plamers, The Sudanese Memoirs (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., New Impression, 1967), 3

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Adeleye, R. A. (1971a). “Hausaland and Borno” in Ajayi, J.F.A. and Crowder, M (eds), History of West Africa, Vol 1 (2nd. ed) (London, Longman Group Ltd), 587.

²⁶³ Fage, J.A, *A History of Africa* (2nd Edition) (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 93.

Borno, nursing deep feelings of resentment against existing governments. Resentment at their total lack of political power had induced the view that *Jihād* was more of a desire for the expression of Fulani nationalism than a religious confrontation.²⁶⁴

However, in detailing the tyrannical nature of the rulers of Hausaland, particularly the Gobir ruler, Hunwick declared a number of things: (a) the ruler by his action, had shown himself not to be a Muslim, and the land is to be considered a land of Islam or a land of unbelief, according to the religion of its ruler. (b) The unbelief of the Sarki of Gobir was shown by the way in which he followed certain non-Islamic practices such as the veneration of rocks and trees, consultation with magicians and soothsayers, the imposition of illegal taxes, the banning of the wearing of the veil for women etc., and (c) by the way he attacked and persecuted other Muslims. Given this condition, Uthman bin Foduye took advantage of the political contradictions and began to preach Islam and mobilising the people against the state.²⁶⁵

2.12.3 Sociocultural Problems in Hausaland

Despite the existence of Islam in Hausaland since the 14th century, the strength of Islam at that time was not able to eradicate blameworthy customs and practices.²⁶⁶ Islam before the reign of Uthman bin Foduye mixed with traditional customs. This perhaps inspired Uthman to think about the necessary steps that will bring about change in the society. He concluded that all the blameworthy customs are unacceptable in Islam. For example, Ahmad Tahir observed that the sociocultural issues that Uthman constantly complained about in his writings are the evils of the indigenous social customs. Almost

²⁶⁴ Aremu, Johnson Olaosebikan, "The Fulāni *Jihād* and its Implication for National Integration and Development in Nigeria," *African Research Review, An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 5 (5), Serial No. 22, October, 2011*, 1-12.

²⁶⁵ Hunwick, J.O., 'The nineteenth century Jihads', in J.F.A. Ajayi, and E. Ian, (eds.) *A Thousand years of West African History* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1965), 272-273.

²⁶⁶ Abdullahi Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan", *History of West Africa*, 2nd ed., vol. 1.

all the customs he describes are today observed among the nomad Fulbe²⁶⁷ (the desert Fulāni). Tahir further pointed out that the nomads have social ceremonies relating to circumcision, initiation, marriage and death. These ceremonies unlike those of other Africans are relatively simple and are devoid of complicated religious rituals.²⁶⁸

The crucial point here is that Uthman bin Foduye studied the society's problems and concluded that those who commit blameworthy customs constitute the major problem of his society. He noted that Hausaland do not repent from blameworthy customs because of what they have found their fathers, chiefs and Shaykhs practising. For example, in his book entitled *Naṣā'ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyah*, Uthman considers blameworthy customs in the fourth category of satanic parties, which appeared in *Bilād Sudan*. Among his long list of blameworthy customs are social mixing of the sexes, and distorting the principles of Islamic law of inheritance, in which when a man died, his brother will take all his property without leaving any share to his relatives. Claiming that in the absence of his brother, he will stand on his position. Nevertheless, the elder son of a deceased person will inherit his stepmother, since to them she is part of the deceased property. So also, other un-Islamic customs are, women will publicly dance in their attire or provocative forms in the presence of men. At the same time, they used to send their wives to markets to buy and sell while they sit at home. Another un-Islamic custom is that they allowed their wives to travel unaccompanied by their *Muharrams*.²⁶⁹ All these were the major negative factors that are prevalent in *Bilād al-Sudan*.

²⁶⁷ The detailed discussion of un-Islamic Fulani customs will be found in "Notes on Some Fulani Tribes and Customs", by L. N. Reed, "Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Oct., 1932), 422-454. Cited from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1155404>. Accessed: 01-02-2016 19:21 UTC.

²⁶⁸ Ahmad Tahir, *The Social Writings of Shaykh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī*, 143-4.

²⁶⁹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Naṣā' ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyah* (Trans. By M. Hiskett) in "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century", in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 25, No. 1/3 (1962), pp. 587-8. Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/610921>. Accessed: 27-12-2015 17:28 UTC.

In all the existing Muslim communities in Hausaland, hosts of hateful customs and beliefs were enforced upon Islam. In Borno (a state in the present Northeastern part of Nigeria), where Islam made its advent at an early age and the Kings have a comparatively good record of the knowledge of Islam, the case was in no way different. Nur Alkali reports of continuity of the traditional belief of the divine Kingship centuries after the penetration of Islam,²⁷⁰ head or Kla was appeased. Marital blessings were sought by performing certain rites running around an apple tree. During and after the rites, Kaulu leaves were extensively applied on the bride and new groom.²⁷¹ These types of odious customs also found at Muslim naming ceremony, installation of Kings, and other social ceremonies in Borno.²⁷²

The rationale for Uthman bin Foduye's mission was the total change of Nigerian society from rampant blameworthy customs. Uthman's thought clearly manifested in the activities of ethnoreligious, sociocultural and politico-economic of the Nigerian society. His deep study of the major problems of his society was nothing but to bring a new change that will eradicate all the problems. Accordingly, in any societal change or revolution, one has to be systematic; otherwise, he will not succeed. One must first understand what he wants to do and how to go about it. By identifying the major problems in any giving society, one can easily provide the necessary steps and approaches that will guide him to arrive at the conclusion of bringing a new society that will be free from any un-Islamic customs or mixing Islam with traditions.

2.13 Uthman bin Foduye's Contribution in Evolutionary and Revolutionary Periods

The previous discussion reveals that Uthman bin Foduye prepared to bring change in his society. He was acquainted with all the problems that are prevalent in Nigerian society.

²⁷⁰ Nur Alkali, *Kanem Borno under the Sayfawa: A Study of Origin, Growth and Collapse of a Dynasty* (PhD thesis: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria-Nigeria, 1978), 40.

²⁷¹ A. M. A. Nguru, *The Life and Contribution of Sheikh Lawan Usman Abba Aji* (Bachelor Degree Project: University of Maiduguri, 1991), 41.

²⁷² Ibid.

Accordingly, to clearly view the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye, his contribution should be discussed based on the evolutionary and revolutionary periods. Hence, under each period the factors responsible for the actualisation of his success will be elucidated.

2.13.1 The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Evolutionary Period

Uthman bin Foduye's success in changing the Nigerian society must be understood through the context of the evolutionary period. Philosophically, the factors responsible for Uthman bin Foduye's gradual achievements include the ethical and intellectual factors, as each will be elaborated in a separate discussion.

2.13.1.1 Ethical Factor

For a person to be a leader, he must excel in good characters, in deeds and utterances. This is because it will sympathetically guide him to win the minds of people to incline and support him towards achieving his goals. Thus, one of the most important things that helped Uthman bin Foduye to secure the cooperation and support of his *Jamā'a* was his mystical experience and various miracles²⁷³. Similarly, Uthman bin Foduye was following the Maliki school of thought and a *Qādiriyyah* Sufi order by affiliation. He relies upon the Glorious Qur'ān, the Sunnah and *ijmā'* (a consensus of Muslim scholars) to substantiate his all point of view. "Uthman bin Foduye is a strictly orthodox theologian and jurist. The other aspect of his personality is most clearly shown in his *Kitāb al-Wird'*: one of his books, which deal with his mystical knowledge. In this work, he relates how divine favour was conferred upon him, whereupon he acquired gnostic (*ma'arifa*) and attained a mystical state (*hāl*). The significant feature of this process was that he was drawn to the presence of Prophet Muhammad and the other Prophets and saints, and then he was giving the sword of truth to fight against the enemies of

²⁷³ Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shaeef bin Farid, *Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye's Ihyā al-Sunnah wa Ikhmād al-Bid'a (The Revival of the Sunnah and Destruction of Innovation)* (Sudan Sankore Institute of Islamic-African Studies International, 1998), 19.

Almighty Allah (in Hausaland). To conclude with, it was the Sufi aspect of his character that greatly contributed to his popularity and the respect in which he held".²⁷⁴

It is important to note that Uthman bin Foduye initially got the cooperation of the people of Hausaland due to the outstanding characters that he displayed. For example, it is reported that in all the "Banū al-Fulāni, to which Uthman bin Foduye belonged was not only the biggest section of the Torankawa but also enjoyed the highest reputation for learning and piety. The most learned among them in the 18th century was Uthman bin Foduye's father, Muhammad Foduye (the learned). A certain reverence and prestige were attached to Uthman bin Foduye's family as the heirs and custodians of a rich heritage of learning and piety, which motivated society to accept the religious and intellectual leadership of a section of that family."²⁷⁵ The advanced transmission and growth of this learning and piety have been observed by Junaid, the then Wazir of Sokoto, as a spiritual secret handed down in that family through the ages until it was displayed in Muhammad Foduye. This explanation is quite in accordance with traditional Islamic thinking, illustrates the way in which Hausa society looked at such family and helps to explain why Uthman bin Foduye was found acceptable as a religious leader from the early age".²⁷⁶ Uthman bin Foduye's mystical experience and his keen interest in following the Sunnah of the Prophet was the significant factor for his acceptance and success in changing the Nigerian society.

To know the outstanding qualities, which Uthman bin Foduye displayed at the early time of his mission, it is significant to refer to Waziri Junaidu's poem, which outlines them. The poem reads:

"Understand that our Shaykh Uthman
May his Lord be pleased with him forever
Grew up firmly and established the *din* (religion) of Allah.
By means of his huge personality, he was a servant of Allah.

²⁷⁴ See F. H. El-Masri, in the *Introduction of his Translation of Uthman bin Foduye's Bayan Wujub al-Hijra...*, 4-5.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 1.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

He showed admiration towards the old and the young.
 He showed them sympathy; his charisma was that of a protector.
 One of his brothers was asked,
 By what means did that man surpass
 All other men? And the answer to that was
 He did not exceed them with acts of worship, however
 I saw from him character, which was unparalleled,
 By anyone nor there is any similarity to his excellence.
 Except for the Prophet, for he is excellent
 Than all beings and possesses every beautiful state.
 Uthman said that he never confronted
 A person neither with evil nor with what he disliked.
 He was tolerant with the evils of people
 Those opposed him and those who agreed with him”.²⁷⁷

The above poems suggest that Uthman bin Foduye possesses an outstanding character, which might have impressed the minds of people of Hausaland towards accepting his mission of changing the traditional society. Understandingly, the said characters have displayed in a mystical manner. Uthman bin Foduye was influenced by the ideas of *Taṣawwuf* right from the beginning of his mission up to the end of his life. This indicates that his mystical experience has remarkably contributed in the gradual change of his society and mobilisation of his community. His mystical knowledge did not contradict the teachings of Islam. He modelled his life according to the practice of the Prophet (PBUH). In this regard, it is vital to understanding the influence of *Taṣawwuf* in the life of any Sufi and how one will be recognised as Sufi. For example, the *Sufi* experts as vindicated by Al-Ghazālī in his *al-Munqidh* “are principally those who walk on the path of God, their behaviour being the best behaviour, their way the straightest way and their charisma the best charisma. For all their actions, he adds, their standings still externally or internally derived ultimately from the niche of Prophetic light, and beyond Prophet-hood, there is no light on the face of the earth which could enlighten one”.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef, *Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye's Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlāḥ al-Bid'a*, 19-20.

²⁷⁸ Muhammad Abu Hamid Al-Ghazālī, *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Beirut: npp, 1959), 39.

Given this understanding, Uthman bin Foduye's ethic displayed in mystical narrations played an important role in changing and organising his Islamic society. Uthman based on his sincere mission and compliance with the teachings of Islam moulded the life of people ideologically, socially and morally to the real teachings of the Prophet (PBUH). This is how Uthman bin Foduye began to attract the minds of many people towards his mission.

2.13.1.2 Intellectual Factors

In line with the educational background of Uthman bin Foduye, he acquired a vast knowledge of Islamic sciences. Notwithstanding, it is earlier indicated that he utilises his knowledge to study his society. His knowledge and his experience of the situation and the physical movements of the people and political system of Hausaland helped him to bring about great changes in the society. His societal change was in line with the principles of Islamic teachings would not be possible without the interplay of an intellectual factors.

To appreciate Uthman's intellectuality in his public struggle, the approaches to his teaching and preaching must be considered, as Malumfashi emphasised in his interview that:

Uthman, following his acquaintance with all the religious, social and political problems of Hausaland, he, however, systematically adopted a step-by -step approaches to bringing about a new Islamic society.²⁷⁹ The approaches are teachings, preaching, and writing which they were going simultaneously.

Understanding his teaching and preaching methodologies is of great importance, wherein, it will be recognised whether it is in cruelty or a kind manner.

²⁷⁹ Dr.Umar Malumfashi, *Interviewed* for in-depth information to this study at his resident in Kano Metropolis, Nigeria, on 16 September 2015.

2.13.1.3 The Approaches of Uthman bin Foduye in his Teaching and Preaching Activities

To begin with, Uthman bin Foduye disseminated his teachings through the perpetual acts of teaching and preaching of the real teachings of Islam. Uthman was an itinerant/mobile teacher. These are the two approaches that Uthman applied in spreading his teachings and preaching activities to provide a new face of the Islamic society and to avoid the failure of the unsystematic approach followed by his teacher.

Gada clearly viewed that resident teacher is “the teacher who lives in one place and established a school or centre where he teaches students. Such a teacher could be an indigene or an immigrant. At times, such a teacher would be given spiritual or political leadership as it used to happen to the early days. In the traditions of Hausaland, such scholars were appointed as *Imāms* and custodians of the established Qur’ānic schools. They became the consultants in the religious affairs of their people, in all the socio-religious functions such as naming ceremonies, wedding ties, and funeral prayers”.²⁸⁰

Mobile teachers on the other hand “are Islamic religious teachers who move from place to place with the sole aim of teaching religious knowledge. They could be those known as itinerant scholars in the early centuries of Islam. However, the mobile scholars as have had them in Hausaland could differ slightly from the early itinerant scholars. Since the former were those who moved together with children entrusted to them by their parents while the latter were those who moved individually visiting different places where they settled for a period of time and imparted knowledge of Islam to the people they met”.²⁸¹

Uthman bin Foduye in his attempts to change the traditional society of Hausaland to an organised Islamic society followed all of those approaches. He is a resident teacher and at the same times a mobile teacher. These methods have great

²⁸⁰ Ahmad Moi Gada, *A Short History of Early Islamic Scholarship in Hausaland*, 76.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 77-8.

impacts on the massive mobilisation of his community, while rapidly circulating his mission in Hausaland within a limited period. “He (Uthman) began his mission at the age of twenty (1774-75) at his hometown Degel. Later on, he started travelling with his brother, Abdullah and other followers, assisting him in disseminating religion of Islam. However, Uthman further went to the East and the West (everywhere), calling people to the religion of Allah by means of admonition and composing poems as well as reciting them in the local languages (Fulfulde and Hausa). He was also discussing traditions that were contrary to the religion of Islam. It was at this time that many people from various and distance places come to join his community. Abdullahi, in one occasion stated that they remained with Uthman bin Foduye in the town of Degel until later they went to the town of Kebbi²⁸² (presently, a state in Northwestern part of Nigeria).²⁸³ Therein, he called people to various things namely to the right paths and faith, Islam and kindness. He further instructed them to abandon the tradition that was contrary to the Islamic Shari ‘a. in consequence, many of them repented, and when Uthman returned to Degel (the main centre of his missionary activities), they came to him in groups listening to his admonition. It was because of this that Allah made him acceptable at first. Later on, his mission spread to the lands, until his people became numerous”.²⁸⁴

Additionally, Tahir opines, “initially, Uthman preaching lasted for twenty years from 1774-1793, thus, however, took the method of tours in the course of which he delivered sermons, taught and wrote textbooks, treatises, and poems the sermon and poems were in the people’s languages. Mostly in Fulfulde, the Uthman’s mother tongue. He had to resort to tour and to composing poems in the languages of the people he was trying to preach who were, in fact, Muslims but whose Islam he challenged”.²⁸⁵ Philosophically, Uthman did not concern his preaching to the pagan who had never

²⁸² Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 5.

²⁸³ See the footnote of page 74 of this study.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ahamd Tahir, *The Social Writings of Shaykh ‘Uthmān b. Fūdi*, 85.

accepted Islam. Rather, he was concerned with the Muslims who have mixed Islamic practices with traditional pagan rituals. This in the views of Uthman was unacceptable in Islam. This is the reason why his activities were considered as a revival of faith. Hence, Uthman was called a *Mujaddid*²⁸⁶ or a 'Reformer of Faith'.²⁸⁷ Uthman made Degel his centre for mobilisation of students. Therefore, he stayed there for 20 years, teaching, preaching and writing²⁸⁸ to mobilise his people and to teach them the pure religion of Islam through doing at his home as a resident teacher and by going to other places in company of his disciples, as an itinerant scholar.²⁸⁹ This corresponds with a statement made by Prof. Umaru Dahiru in his interview:

Stated that Uthman bin Foduye's methods of teachings and preaching was contained in what his brother, Abdullah mentioned in his *Tazyin al-Waraqāt*, *Idā al-Nusūkh* and what his son, Muhammad Bello mentioned in his *Infāq al-Maisūr*. In spite of these, at certain time some of his students came with their books for personal learning.²⁹⁰

This connotes that Degel could be the first learning centre in the early period of Uthman's struggle to eradicate the fabricated innovations in Hausaland and establish an Islamic society.

²⁸⁶ Uthman bin Foduye was called a *Mujaddid* due to the fact that the scholars of his age were unanimously agreed that his book, *Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlāḍ al-Bid'ah* distinguished him as the *Mujaddid* (reformer) of the 12th century after the Hijrah of the Prophet (PBUH). To substantiate this fact, it is narrated by Al-Bayhaqi in the al-Madkhal by way of Sa'id bn Abi Ayyub on the authority of Sharahil bn Yazid al-Ma'rifi on the authority of Abi Alqama on the authority of Abi Hurairah, may Allah be pleased with him that the Prophet (PBUH) said, "Verily Allah will raise for this Ummah at the head of every century one who will renew the affairs of the dīn for it". See Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef bn Farid, Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye's *Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlāḍ al-Bid'ah*..., p. 28. Additionally, Bivar in his translation of Uthman bin Foduye's *Wathīqat ahl al-Sudan*, declared that "The honorific titles *Nūr al-Zamān* 'Light of the Age' and *Mujaddid al-Islam* 'Reviver of Islam' are also frequently found with his nam". See A. D. H. Bivar, *The Wathīqat Ahl Al-Sudan: A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihād*..., P. 1.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Moshe Tadiman, "A Research on Islam and Muslims in Africa". Retrieved from: <https://muslimsinfrica.wordpress.com/2013/03/15/caribbean-memories-of-slavery-and-the-myths-of-othman-dan-fodios-sokoto-caliphate-dr-moshe-terdman/>. Accessed on 1 February 2016.

²⁸⁹ David Robinson and Douglas Smitt, *Sources of the African Past: The Sokoto Caliphate Case studies of Five Nineteenth Century African Societies* (London: Heinemann, educational Books Ltd, 1979), 131/

²⁹⁰ Professor Umaru Dahiru. (Department of Islamic Studies, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria, Interviewed for in-depth information to this study at his office Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Maiduguri on 14 February, 2016.

2.13.1.4. Who are the Targeted people in Uthman's Teaching and Preaching?

Considering all the surrounding of Uthman's struggle to establish an ideal society based on the dictate of Shari'a, may conclude that those with whom he was concerned in his teaching and preaching activities would not go beyond the following categories:

2.13.1.4.1 The Ignorant People of Hausaland

While in his hometown, Uthman discovered that people were in a state of ignorance about what Islam prescribed concerning belief. In his attempts to overcome such a problem "He encouraged the common people to study the basic knowledge for the necessary of discharging their religious obligations, after that, they should leave the explanations to the scholars."²⁹¹ He invited them to know the fundamental principles of Islam and people were convinced to study gradually.

Before going any further to understand and appreciate the role of Uthman bin Foduye and his concerns about the ignorant people of Hausaland, it is important to note that his son, Muhammad Bello describes the nature of the ignorance of people about Islam. In so doing, Bello said, "It is so hard to find anyone among people of the Hausaland whose faith was pure and worship properly at the time of his father's appearance. Most of them were ignorant about Islam and rituals. Thus, Uthman bin Foduye categorises them into different categories, in which among them there were those who were pure believers at the same time worshipped stones. There were also those who pronounced *Tawhīd* while at the same time mixed up Islam with blameworthy acts inherited from their predecessors. It was in this situation that Uthman bin Foduye started inviting them to Allah".²⁹²

²⁹¹ Isma'il.A.B. Balogun: "A critical edition of the *Ihyā' al-Sunna wa-Ikhlāq al-Bid'a* of 'Uthman b. Fudi, popularly known as Usumanu Dan Fodio" (University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1967), 112-113.

²⁹² Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Ma'sūr*, at pp. 58-61. Translated by Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef in the introduction of his translation of *Ihya' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlād al-Bida'ah* written by Uthman bin Foduye, 20.

Furthermore, as regards the serious ignorance of the people of Hausaland, more especially about the issue of purification, Uthman bin Foduye, to appreciate his role in changing pre-colonial Nigerian society, has dedicated a considerable book for such purpose. The book entitled “Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland”. In this book, Uthman categories the ignorant people of Hausaland into two categories:

1. Is the category of those who (take a bath) wash off the impurity and perform the ablution for prayer and never go for al-Tayammum (dry ablution substitute) except for a reason. They avoid strange women (women of marriageable age that are not related to them). They revere Islamic scholars and ask them about the issues that confuse them in their religion. They never make a mockery of the religion of Allah, and they have never heard refuting anything that is necessarily an integral part of the religion.²⁹³ Uthman declared that these are certainly Muslims. All Islamic provisions are applicable to them. For it is never heard of them as it is normally being heard of the people of Hausaland something that contradicts the statement of testimony.²⁹⁴ Uthman finally supported his argument with Allah’s saying: “And do not say to him who greets you with *Salām* that you are not a believer”.²⁹⁵

2. Contrary to the first category, the second category as Uthman explains is of those who never clean up themselves from impurity, never perform ablution for prayer. Their wives do not avoid relating to strange (men of age but not related) men. They neither revere Islamic scholars nor ask them anything that confuses them in their religion. In fact, they mock the religion of Allah and refute the fact that the dead shall be raised again.²⁹⁶ These certainly, are disbelievers, the Islamic provisions not applicable to them

²⁹³ Uthman bin Foduye, *Hukm Juhhāl Bilād Hausa (Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland)*, in Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 1. edited and translated by A.B. Yahya & Yasi Islam Nabingo (Gada-Biyu, Gusa, Nigeria: Iqra’ Publishing House, 2013), 27-8.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Qur’an, *Surah al-Nisa*, 4: 94.

²⁹⁶ Uthman bin Foduye, *Hukm Juhhāl Bilād Hausa (Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland)*, in Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 1. edited and translated by A.B. Yahya & Yasi Islam Nabingo (Gada-Biyu, Gusa, Nigeria: Iqra’ Publishing House, 2013), 27-8.

even though they verbally recite testimony. In supporting the fact that they are disbelievers²⁹⁷, Uthman quotes this verse, which Allah says, “Say! Is Allah and His signs, and His Messenger, (PBUH) that you make a mockery of you have no excuse, you are disbelievers”.²⁹⁸

The aforementioned discussions show that the first thing, which Uthman bin Foduye invited people to, is the oneness of Allah that is Islamic monotheism and ruling about rituals. Evidence in this regard is what Uthman declared in his magnum opus, *Ihyā al-Sunnah wa Ikḥmād al-Bid‘a*. For example, Uthman bin Foduye, in chapter four of this book, explained the principles of *Īmān*, in which he emphasised that every believer must take his faith from the Glorious Qur’ān since Almighty Allah has prescribed all of the principles of *Īmān*.²⁹⁹ In supporting this argument, he referred to the saying of Almighty Allah:

It is not *Al-Birr’* (piety, righteousness, and each and every act of obedience to Allah, etc.) that you turn your faces towards East and (or) West (in prayers); but *Al-Birr* is (the quality of) the one who believes in Allah, the Last Day, the Angels, the Book, the Prophets...³⁰⁰

Similarly, in the same passage of *Ihyā’*, it has been reported that Uthman asserted that:

The consensus of scholars upholds that whoever affirms the two testimonies, ruling of Islam is implemented on him. He could be married to a Muslim woman, can lead prayers; and the animal he slaughtered can be consumed. The Muslims can inherit him and can inherit from them. He is to be buried in the graveyard of the Muslims.³⁰¹

The foregoing vindicates that for a person to be a complete Muslim, he must believe in all the above-mentioned principles of *Īmān* as clearly sets out in the Qur’ān.

This implies that Uthman aims to change his society in line with the teachings of Qur’ān

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Qur’ān, *Surah al-Taubah*, 9: 65-66.

²⁹⁹ Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef Abu Farid, *Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye’s Ihyā’ al-Sunnah wa Ikḥmād al-Bid‘a*, 109.

³⁰⁰ Qur’ān, *Surah al-Baqarah* 2: 177.

³⁰¹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Ihya al-Sunnah wa Ikḥmad al-Bid’ah* (Reviving the Sunnah and Suppressing the Innovation), Vol 1, translated by Abdul-Hafeez Isma’il Ojoye & et als, (edt) by A. B. Yahya (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra’ Publishing House, 2013), 80.

and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH) since they are the sources of reference in his teachings and preaching activities.

In another quotation, Abdullah further explains the level of ignorance of the people of Hausaland; and how Uthman bin Foduye worried with their situation in teaching them the laws of Islam. He has this to say:

In Zamfara, we stayed therein for almost five years, and it was a land on whose people ignorance was overwhelming. Most of its people had never smelt the fragrance of Islam. They use to come to Shaykh Uthman's council mixing with their women. He separated them and taught them that it is forbidden for men and women to intermingle. He, therefore, taught them the pillars of Islam. However, some evil people spread the rumour that the congregation was a meeting point for men and women.³⁰²

Uthman bin Foduye at a number of places in his writings and preaching was anxious about what most of the scholars of Hausaland doing in leaving members of their families in darkness of ignorance without giving attention to them to teach them or to send them to school, to know their religious obligations. This was clearly mentioned in the essay of Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Salim bin Ibrahim. Wherein Uthman quoted that:

Scholars of Hausaland were day and nights are together with their students teaching them the religion of Islam, but carelessly they left their daughters, sons, wives and their slaves without knowing anything about Islam. In fact, they considered them as wild animals that have not any benefit attached to them, or even as a pot, which once it breaks would throw away as a waste. They were not concerned to teach them about the rights of Allah against them. It was in this case that Uthman bin Foduye called upon women do not respond to the calls of any misguided scholar, who commanded them to obey their husband by saying the success of women in this life in obedience to her husband. But in reality, they do not command them to obey Allah and His Messenger (PBUH). Uthman, however, emphasised that this is nothing but only to have self-glorification or to be popular among their students.³⁰³

The above quotation shows the deep concern of Uthman bin Foduye about the education of the people of Hausaland particularly the women. It may be assumed that Uthman believed that women would serve the foundation of society, so their knowledge

³⁰² Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyin al-waraqat*, 5.

³⁰³ Uthman bin Foduye, *Tanbih al-Ihkwān 'ala Jawāz ittikhāz al-Majlis li ajli Ta'alim al-Niswān 'Im Furūd al-ayān min Dīn Allah ta'ala al-Rahmān*, Aminu Bukhari Sokoto (ed.) (Sokoto: Nigeria), 9-10.

is of great importance in order for the society remains knowledgeable about religious obligations particularly members of the family, for example, the children.

During Uthman's struggle and tour for teachings and preaching, an important event occurred. Although the mission was still in Zamfara, the Sultan of Gobir, Bawa (who said was the most powerful King in Hausaland during his time), invited all the 'Ulamā' of his state to his court at Magami, during 'id ul-Adha. (Sacrifice Festivity: the tenth of Dhul Hijjah) and gave them gifts. All of them accepted the Sultan's gifts except Uthman who stood in front of him and demanded instead five things from the Sultan:

1. To allow him to call people in Sultan's province
2. Not to stop anybody who intends to respond to his call
3. To treat with respect any man with a turban
4. To free all the (political) prisoners
5. Not to burden the subjects with taxes.³⁰⁴

Immediately, the Sultan Bawa responded to the demands of Uthman, saying, "He has assuredly granted him all that he has requested, and Bawa accepted that Uthman does all the things that he wants to do in this land. It was, for this reason, Abdullah says they thanked Allah and returned back to Degel establishing religion while others came back with wealth".³⁰⁵

Analytically, Hamza and Isa Maishanu pointed out that Uthman's meeting with the Sultan of Gobir won the hearts of many people of Hausaland. Most of the scholars present during the 'Id al-Kabīr celebration joined the rank and file of his supporters. This also enlarged his respect throughout the area and subsequently was to set the stage for future conflict with subsequent rulers of Gobir. According to them, the privilege granted to the Uthman by the King of Gobir Bawa was clear indications of the political

³⁰⁴ El-Masri, "The life of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio before the Jihad", 441.

³⁰⁵ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 8.

dimension, which the Uthman's movement was gradually assuming. Added that the call for the release of political prisoners and the abolition of uncanonical taxes were both social and political matters, while the wearing of turbans and veils were suggestive of the uniqueness of Uthman's followers: the *Jamā'a*, which was developing into a separate, confident community.³⁰⁶

Furthermore, in describing the methods of Uthman bin Foduye's public preaching and his approach to the people, Muhammad Bello elucidates in a long quotation, saying that his father:

Once he went to a place to deliver a lecture, he used to sit calmly and greeted people with the greetings of Islam three times in a laudable voice... While delivering his lecture, he never showed any anger to those who were sending questions; rather he would stop and answer their questions before proceeding. Uthman never afraid of the presence of scholars who attended his lecture, he used to speak to them on what is acceptable to him. This is nothing but a little among his distinctive characters in his mission of preaching. His main intention was to teach ignorant people and remind the neglectful scholars...³⁰⁷ Muhammad Bello, may Allah be pleased with has further described his father's methods of teaching and preaching, whereupon he says "He used to go out every Thursday to give admonition to the people... Many people used to join his lectures... He would go out in some of the nights after '*Ishā* prayer diligently conveying the knowledge of Islam and important wisdom. He used to go out after the '*asr* prayer to give instructions in the sciences of *Tafsīr* of *Qur'ān*, Hadith, Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Mysticism".³⁰⁸

Thus, intelligently and sympathetically the masses were ready to comprehend and to accept Islam and Uthman's ideas of changing their ailing society. Uthman's approach in teaching and preaching was in a polite manner, without any embracement to the ignorant people who were forcing questions while he is delivering a lecture. This reveals that whoever wants to invite people to practice Islam and to abstain from evil acts, he must be tolerant and kind; otherwise, people will distance themselves and never listen to him.

³⁰⁶ Maishanu, *The Jihād and the Formation of the Sokoto Caliphate*, 125.

³⁰⁷ Isma'il, U. S. A, "Towards an intellectual history: some reflections on the literature of the Jihad and the caliphate", Sokoto Seminar 1975, 20-21.

³⁰⁸ Muhammad Bello. *Infāq al-Maīsūr*, 94-95.

2.13.1.4.2 The Traditional Rulers of Hausaland

This is the second group that Uthman concerned with them. He gradually taught the people of Hausaland to differentiate what is Islam and what is not. He never confined himself only to the common people, but rather, extended his missionary activities to the rulers of the Hausaland. In this regard, his brother, Abdullah stated that Uthman was not used to going to the Kings, nor did he has any relationship with them. However, when his people became numerous and his affairs became famous in the palace of Kings and others, he found it necessary to go to them. He first went to Sultan Bawa, the King of Gobir, and explained the correct Islam to him, instructing him to keep to that, and to establish justice in his land. Then Uthman returned to his homeland and was able to call (people) to religion on that account, in the sense that people who did not have the fear of Allah were afraid of rejecting Uthman's instruction. This is because of his connection with the Sultan Bāwa.³⁰⁹

While meeting with the Sultan of Gobir, Bawa, "He showed wisdom and sensitivity in preaching Islam to the rulers of Hausaland. His approach was neither confrontational nor violent; it is clearly simple. He showed respect to them but advocated before them the tenets of Islam without any fear. He handled Bāwa in such a manner that he granted all his requests".³¹⁰

The above specifies that Uthman was fearless about saying the truth. His contact with the then powerful ruler of Hausaland shows his determination to let the words of Allah and His Messenger prevails in his society. It indirectly teaches the contemporary Muslim scholars to be sincere and generous in disseminating their knowledge without any bias or supporting blameworthy acts for worldly interest, as in the case of those who are considered political scholars. Nowadays, it becomes difficult for most of the contemporary Muslim scholars to approach a King or powerful politician to admonish

³⁰⁹ 'Abdallah bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt.*, 5.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

him or to advise him about a religious matter because they fear to lose their job and fall from their grace.

2.13.1.4.3 The Venal Scholars and their Activities

This is the third category that Uthman targeted in his societal change. Despite the successful achievements that he recorded through his teachings and preaching methods, he encountered massive criticism from the venal scholars of Hausaland. This happened not because on his sticking to the message of the Glorious Qur'ān and Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH), but rather because of the rapid spread of his mission throughout Hausaland. It was because of this criticism that they attacked him with various accusations among which that, he was misguiding the people of Hausaland.³¹¹ Abdullahi bin Foduye mentioned that when they arrived at a place called Daura in company of Uthman bin Foduye, an erudite scholar of Borno,³¹² who was called Mustapha. He was known with his nickname Gwoni which meant an expert (hence erudite scholar), came to them, meeting them with his poem in which he instructed Uthman bin Foduye to prevent women from attending his admonition.³¹³

On the above-mentioned accusation by Mustapha Gwoni, Uthman said to Abdullah that you are the right person to respond to him. In replying to Gwoni, Abdullahi initially stated that one should know that is religiously obligatory based on the consensus of scholars, to do the lesser of two evils concerning religion and the worldly affairs. Relying on this rule, Abdullah vividly responds to Mustapha's poetry that "the evil of leaving women in ignorance of what they do not know their (religious) obligation, and they do not basically know Islam, that evil is greater than the evil of

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Now, Borno is a state in Northeaster part of Nigeria.

³¹³ Ibid.

their mixing with men. Then Abdullahi asked him that he should understand this ruling”.³¹⁴

Similarly, most of those scholars who accused Uthman's *Da'wah* were connected with the ruler's palace. Their aim was to protect their interest not the religion of Islam. Therefore, whatever the blameworthy acts prevalent in the land they were not concerned. To understand some of their whims, Uthman bin Foduye stated that:

Among their misunderstandings is that some of them (i.e. scholars) tolerate worthless customs on the grounds of the saying, which is widespread in the lands that the custom of a land is Sunnah. But this is untruth and confusion according to the consensus of opinion (*ijmā'*) because a custom should not be abided if it contradicts the Sunnah (of the Prophet). Uthman further asserted that someone of the brethren told him that he heard some of them say 'Forbidding evil in the land of evil is the real evil'. And for this reason, they do not blame each other for committing an evil. I take refuge with Allah the exalted; this is one of the features of the Jews.³¹⁵

Given this understanding, it becomes clear that Uthman bin Foduye compiled a special treatise to remind people of the necessity and permissibility of women's education outside the home, on the condition that it is to understand the Islamic rituals. The treatise was purposely to refute the arguments of venal scholars against his teaching and preaching in Hausaland.³¹⁶

2.13.1.5 The Analysis of Uthman bin Foduye's Teaching and Preaching Methodologies

The previous discussion outlines various methods used by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the pre-colonial Nigerian society. The methods ought to be extracted in order to shed more lights on the rational wisdom behind implementing them. They are as follows:

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Al-Hajj: "Meaning of the Sokoto Jihād", Sokoto Seminar, Nigeria, 1975, 7.

³¹⁶ For details explanation about this issue, see Uthman bin Foduye. (nd), *Kitab Tanbīh al-Ikhwān 'ala Jawaz 'Ittikhādhi al-Majlis li 'ajli Ta'alīm al-Niswān 'ilma Furūd al-a'yān min Dīn Allah Ta'ala al-Rahmān*. Arabic Manuscript ed. Aminu Bukhari Sokoto, 2-12.

1. In his teaching, Uthman initially starts with teaching the people about Islamic monotheism and rituals. Uthman bin Foduye did so in order to guide them how to purify their *Īmān*, to perform prayers, fasting during Ramadan, giving alms and pilgrimage. Concisely, to understand the clear teaching methodology of Uthman bin Foduye, Muhammad Bello, his son, mentioned that he used to go out every Thursday to deliver sermons to the people. In addition, it says that he used to go out after '*Ishā* prayer to deliver lectures, yet he used to go out after '*Asr* prayer to instruct people on various sciences which include the science of Qur'ān, Hadith, *Fiqh* and Tasawwuf³¹⁷. Thus, this shows that Uthman bin Foduye has excelled in systematic teaching methodology, in which, every day has its own themes of discussion.

2. From the side of his preaching, Uthman bin Foduye was regarded as a resident and yet an itinerant scholar who was touring from one place to another. For example, it has been said that he was instructing the people with multiple languages, that is to say, he is preaching in his mother tongue, Fulfulde, and Hausa language respectively. This was amazing to his people, because wherever he found Hausa people he talked to them in Hausa and Fulfulde. Therefore, using a multiplicity of languages is no doubt guides Uthman bin Foduye's acceptance in the eyes of the people of Hausaland. To substantiate this statement, it is important to refer to the Qur'ān to understand that Allah's Messengers were all sent not, except with the languages of their people. For example, Almighty Allah says:

And we sent not a Messenger except with the language of his people, in order that he might make (the Message) clear for them. Then Allah misleads whom He wills and guides whom He wills. And He is the All-Mighty, the all-Wise.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Maysūr*, 31-32.

³¹⁸ Qur'ān, *Surah Ibrahim*, 14: 4.

This suggests that for any instructor or reformer to be understandable by his people he should talk to them in their own language, otherwise most of them will not understand him. Yet, it will take the time to know what he wanted to deliver.

3. Perseverance is another approach used by Uthman bin Foduye in conveying his mission. Up to the end of his teaching and preaching, he never discouraged in touring to a different part of Hausaland. It is understood that he instructs people in both town and villages. Therefore, for one to achieve his aims he must be perpetuated and sincerely, it is not a matter of using force or any other means unless when it is warranted. For example, preaching according to Sulaiman is “the effort to transform society, is basically a peaceful process which should not be disagreeing or create deliberate tension or complaint, he added that, there is no way in which people can be changed through force. If using force becomes necessary, it should not be invited from the person whose job or assignment requires peace and cognitive”.³¹⁹

4. Nevertheless, in his preaching, he used a sound approach. When Sultan of Gobir invited him, he refused to accept his gifts, but instead, he demanded five things that earlier mentioned.³²⁰ All the five things did not concern, him but his people. This caused people of Hausaland to understand that his mission is for their survival. Then they considered him as their teacher and at the same time a leader. To support this assertion, Olamide has opined that Uthman preaching must be considered not only for religious reform but also for the reformation of economic and political aspects of the land. Therefore, it was because of this, the oppressed people of Hausaland “*Talakāwas*”³²¹ join him against the rulers of the said land. They wanted to have a new system of administration since they were economically oppressed. Equally, the Fulani who were influential economically and politically supported the government of Hausa States in

³¹⁹ Ibrahim Sulaiman, *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio*, 74.

³²⁰ For understanding the five things that Uthman bin Foduye demanded from Sultan Bāwa, refer to page 109 of this study.

³²¹ In Hausa, those who are not wealthy.

order to fight against the emergence of Uthman's community, so that they could maintain their financial position.³²² Despite that, he successfully defeated them in collaboration with the majority of those who supported him. With these, one cannot deny that Uthman bin Foduye at the initial period of his contribution did not engage in any acts of fighting as a means of changing the society.

2.14 The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in Revolutionary Period

This is the second period of Uthman's contribution, which led to the final stage of his changing the Nigerian society into an established Islamic government. Revolutionary is the change that resulted in overthrowing something as earlier defined. Uthman bin Foduye did not revolt against the rulers of Hausaland until they tried to assassinate him. Various commentators and analysts on the activities of Uthman bin Foduye argue, "Uthman and his *Jamā'a* never intended to launch *Jihād* against the rulers of Hausaland. To understand this statement, Islam was however revived when Uthman bin Foduye and his follower launched a revolutionary *Jihād* to cast out inherited paganism and to reinstate, spread and amalgamate Islam. It must be clearly understood that the nature of the disputes between the Hausa Kings and Uthman bin Foduye at the beginning of the 19th century was similar to the character of those between Songhai and Morocco in the late sixteenth-century. Moreover, Songhai and Hausa Kings were protecting traditional African standards of government. On the other hand, Morocco and the *Jihād* which controlled by Uthman bin Foduye were promoting the Islamic religion".³²³

Evidently, enough, the Sokoto leaders (Uthman and his community) never intended to create an empire ruled by force. Rather, they wanted to create an Islamic

³²² Ayoola Akinkunmi Olamide. (2010). "Usman Dan Fodio's Jihad: A Cross Between A Religious and Political Movement". Retrieved from: <http://www.articlesbase.com/writing-articles/usman-dan-fodios-jihada-cross-between-a-religious-and-political-movement-3912169.html>. Accessed on 01 February 2016.

³²³ Okon Akiba, *Constitutionalism and society in Africa*, (n.p.: Ashgate publishing, ltd., 2004), 30.

society or a federation of states organised by common aims and religious loyalty to the leader of the believers.³²⁴ By all indication, it implies that Uthman's second phase of his contribution in changing the Nigerian society was through confrontation, which is opposite to the first period as elucidated earlier. What contributed to the success of this period is the military factor as will be highlighted in the following discussion.

2.14.1 Military Factor

The cardinal aim of this section is to determine the details of the collective reasons that have been necessitated the revolutionary *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye against the political instability and un-Islamic government of Hausaland. Although scholars differed as to the reasons that necessitated the *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye, some have tried to link it to the political, religious and economic reasons. Nonetheless, from the preceding discussion on how Uthman developed his thought on societal change, it exposes that from the surrounding of all the problems that he faced, in one way or the other, the *Jihād* gets its root from what was transpiring in the society.

Uthman bin Foduye was later satisfied to launch *Jihād* against the un-Islamic government of the Hausaland. He believed it was justified because he educated his community and they were understood the difference of an Islamic government and an un-Islamic one. Thus, he (Uthman) however, produced various literatures to enlighten his people on the necessity of overthrowing un-Islamic government. It was in this situation that Uthman bin Foduye expressed the need for an Islamic government as he categorically outlines in his *Wathīqat ahl al-Sudān*.³²⁵

From the historical grounds of Uthman bin Foduye's *Jihād*, as the power of Gobir declined under Nafata (the then Sultan of Hausaland), his son Yunfa succeeded him and became the Sultān. It is said that there were ties between Yunfa and Uthman.

³²⁴ Mudassiru Sheriff, *Sokoto Caliphate: It's Rise and Fall* (M.A Masters Dissertation, Malaysia: International Islamic University, Malaysia, 2009), 5-6.

³²⁵ For the detailed manifestations about Uthman's *Jihād*, which he asserted that it is obligatory by assent, see this book, *Wathīqat ahl al-Sudān* translated by A. D. H. Bivar (1961), 240.

Men like Abdullah were very doubtful of Yunfa's intentions. The following year, Yunfa tried to kill Uthman bin Foduye at Alkalawa. Thus, Uthman bin Foduye wrote many books, therein, he clearly described the necessity of *Hijra* from the land of unbelievers to that of the believers. He further described the obligation of the appointment of commander of the Muslim believers. Among books that dealt with such issues are *Wathīqat ahl- al-Sūdān*, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra 'alal 'Ibād and Masā' il' al-Muhimmah*, it was in this book, *Masā'il*, Uthman bin Foduye stated clearly the obligations of emigration and the *Jihād* against pagan states. In addition, Uthman shortlisted specific grievances, namely the unlawfulness of marketing the Fulani as slaves seeing that most of them were Muslims.³²⁶

To understand and clearly address the revolutionary *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye in Hausaland, it is of highest importance to vividly examine and synopsis the content of his two important books: *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra 'alal 'Ibād and Tanbīh al-Ikhwān 'ala ahwāl ard al-Sūdān*. To begin with, the *Bayān* is one of the most important books written by Uthman bin Foduye in November 1806/Ramadan 1221 that is two years after he launched *Jihād* against the rulers of Hausaland in 1804. The book contains sixty-three chapters as Uthman himself admitted in the introduction of the book that he made the book with that number of chapters in accordance with the age of the Prophet (PBUH). Uthman emphasised that by the will of Allah, the book would be beneficial, especially in his time, for anyone who resorts to it. He purposely wrote the book to enlighten his community to understand the legal injunction behind the Muslim migration from the land of disbelievers to the land of believers. It seems that F. H. El-Masri was the first scholar, who edited and translated the Uthman bin Foduye's *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'ala al-'Ibād* in 1978. Recently, in 2013, another important attempt had been made by Abubakar Buba Luwa and Suleiman Musa. They edited and

³²⁶ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 13

translated the *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah* as “The Hijrah Obligation” in volume three (3) of the selected writings of Uthman bin Foduye. References to this volume in general and the *Bayān* in particular have frequently mentioned in this study. Hence, the *Bayān* is one of the primary sources of the present study. El-Masri stated that by the time Uthman bin Foduye had completed writing the *Bayān*, a large area of Hausaland had been conquered by him and his community and the Sokoto Caliphate finally emerged. Clearly, the new policy needed guidance in both the prosecution of the *Jihād* and in the principles of administration. Therefore, it may say that Uthman bin Foduye wrote his *Bayān* at that time to give urgently needed advice and guidance to the provincial administrators (nuwwāb) and the generality of the new but widely dispersed community.³²⁷ Due to the significant importance of the *Bayān* and its voluminous, many of Uthman bin Foduye’s works was subtracted from it. To understand this, Uthman’s book, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra wa tahrīm Muwālāt al-Kafara wa wujūb muwālāt al-Mūminīn al-Umma* was originally taken from the *Bayān*. Similarly, in Muharram 1227/1812, Uthman wrote his *al-Amr bi Muwālāt al-Mūminīn wa al-Nahy ‘an Muwālāt al-Kāfirīn*, which the first part of this book is identical to chapter V of the *Bayān* and the second part of it does not differ much from chapter IV of the *Bayān*, except for some additional citation from the earlier scholars.³²⁸

It should be clear that most of the Uthman bin Foduye’s books were meant to address issues that had been rampant in his society. Hence, the *Bayān* is not an exceptional. Uthman wrote it to deal with the laws of *Hijrah* and *Jihād*. The book was also meant to answer all administrative issues and provide the theoretical basis of Uthman Islamic government. He was so critical in this book because he clearly declared that the traditional rulers of Hausaland are unbelievers. All the chapters in the *Bayān* are relevant, they are mainly talking about the themes of *Jihād*, *Hijra*, administration and

³²⁷ F. H. El-Masri, Introduction and Translation of Uthman bin Foduye’s *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah*, 13.

³²⁸ Ibid., 14.

the principles of appointment of leaders and governors. Chapter fifty-three (53) of the *Bayān* is an important chapter in which Uthman clearly sets out the various practices wherewith a state cannot survive or rather the factors responsible for the decline of a state. This chapter has provided significant information to this study.³²⁹ He clearly declared that a state/society could not survive any longer once the leaders are committing or practising an immoral act.

It is of highest importance to note that the first three chapters of the *Bayān* deal specifically with the theme of *Hijrah* and most of Uthman's references are taken from the commentaries of the Qur'an and Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH). For example, Uthman used to mention a number of verses and ahādith of the Prophet to support his views on Muslim immigration according to the dictates of Sharī'a. To understand this, the first chapter of the *Bayān* begins with indeed! *Hijrah* is compulsory from the *Dār al-Kuffār* as said by the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the *ijmā'*. As for the Qur'an, Almighty Allah says:

Verily! As for those whom the angels take (in death) while they are wronging themselves (as they stayed among the disbelievers even though emigration was obligatory for them), they (angels) say (to them) "In what (condition) were you"? They reply, "We were weak and oppressed on the earth". They (angels) say, "Was not the earth of Allah spacious enough for you to emigrate therein"? Such men will find their abode in Hell-what an evil destination!³³⁰

From the above verse, commentators of the Qur'an said the verse contains the evidence for the obligation to migrate from the infidel's land. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī says in his *Takmila*, the commentary on the Qur'an that "wronging themselves" means staying with the infidels and abandoning migration". As to the Sunnah, it is the word of the Prophet (PBUH) that "Anyone who associates with an infidel or resides with him is

³²⁹ For more details about the factors, see chapter five of this study.

³³⁰ Qur'an, *Surah al-Nisa*, 4: 97.

like him” more so, as to the consensus, Al-Wansharishi has said in *Al-Mi‘iyar* (literally, The Criterion) that “the Islamic consensus is that there is an obligation to migrate”.³³¹

Astonishingly, Uthman has concluded the *Bayān* with the six chapters which deal with the conduct of the Prophet (PBUH) with creatures, the Four Rightly guided caliphs (Abubakar, Umar, Usman, and Ali), and finally the caliphate of the leader of the faithful, Al-Hassan bin Abi Ali (May Allah be pleased with him). This, on the other hand, signifies that to some extent the *Bayān* deals with the *Sīra* (biography) literature. Uthman discussed the biography of the Prophet and his Four Rightly Guided Caliphs as well as his nephew, Al-Hassan, just to explain the reader to understand the organised system of leadership that took place during their lifetime. A clear example may be taken from what Uthman stated in the final chapter of the *Bayān* on Al-Hassan bin Ali. Uthman mentioned that “Muslim s pledged allegiance to the caliphate of Al-Hassan (May Allah be pleased with him), after the death of his father Ali bin Abi Talib, but Mu‘awiyya refused. Then he wrote to Mu‘awiyya offering to surrender the affair to him, and he gave him some conditions. In return, Mu‘awiyya responded accepting to endure the conditions set on him. On that account, Al-Hassan was scolded (or blamed by people) for surrendering the affair to Mu‘awiyya. Al-Hassan said, “I have preferred three things: Togetherness (with the Islamic community) to separation, restraining blood to shielding it, and friendship to hostility”. Uthman added that Al-Hassan words conformed to what the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said about him, “Allah will use this, my son, to reconcile between two great groups of Muslims.”

The above facts denote that leaders must be tolerant, simple and just. At the same time, they should maintain peace in all what they are looking for. Where there is any conflict on leadership, which may cause crisis or division among members of the society, leaders should do what they can to turn down the case whether directly affect

³³¹ Uthman bin Foduye. *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah*, 46-7.

their personal interest or of any member of the society. The incident is silently signifying to any generation that the Prophet and his companions are worthy of emulations in every aspect of human life. Generally, the last six chapters of the *Bayān* inferred that the book in its stylistic arrangement covers a very wide scope of Islamic knowledge, which ranged from jurisprudence to history. It may be noticed that the importance of this great literature written by Uthman bin Foduye to this study cannot be over emphasised.

On the other hand, *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān ‘alā ahwāl ard al-Sūdān* is another important treatise written by Uthman bin Foduye in Sifawa 1226/1811. This clearly indicates that Uthman wrote the book nearly seven years after the declaration of his *Jihād* in 1804. It appeared in various records that H. R. Palmer was the first English translator of the book. He translated it as “An Early Conception of Islam”, in Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 13, No. 52 (Jul. 1914). Later, in 2013, Adamu Bala and Suleiman Musa had edited and translated the *Tanbīh* as “Informing Brothers on the Position of the people of Sudan Area”, in volume three (3) of Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye as earlier mentioned. The *Tanbīh* is a sizable book that contains seven chapters. Each chapter deals with specific issues. More importantly, Uthman, in the introduction of the *Tanbīh*, stated that the book is an “Admonition to the Brethren” and deals with the extent of the different countries of *Bilad al- Sudan*. For example, chapter 1 of the book deals with the division of the Sudan and some of its Western countries. Chapter 2 deliberated the general ruling on the land of Sudan regarding their Islam and *Kufr* (disbelief). Chapter 3 discussed the ruling on Hausaland and its neighboring countries regarding their Islam and *Kufr*. Chapter 4 elaborates the inception of Islam in the Sudan in which Islam has become widespread among the lands of the people of Borno, Kano, Katsina, and part of Zaria, Songhai, and Mali did not happen through *Jihād*. Chapter five describes the legacy of Imām al-Suyuti in his: “Message to

the Kings and sovereign leaders of the Hausaland in general and to ascetic King Muhammad bin Sutafo, the head of Zaria, Agadez, and his two brothers, Muhammad and Umar; also to their cousin, Muhammad bin Abdulrahman and to King Ibrahim, the Ruler of Katsina in particular. Chapter 6 of the *Tanbīh* narrates the correspondence between Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdul Kareem Al-Maghili Al-Tilmisani and Muhammad Rumfa, the ruler of Kano, and finally, chapter 7 devoted to the justification of the Hijra and the subsequent *Jihād* against the rulers of Hausaland. Actually, Abdullahi bin Foduye wrote the justification on the directive of Uthman bin Foduye. Uthman stated at the outset of the chapter 1, “I say and success lies with Allah. What my brother, Abdullahi, wrote explaining these reasons is sufficient. I told him on that day that he should write on the cause of our migration from Gobir and the cause for the *Jihād* that took place between the Hausa leaders and us. This will serve as our excuse for anyone that comes across it amongst the impartial ones”. Ahmad Tahir noted that the *Tanbīh* is apologetic for it tries to answer the accusations made by El-Kanemi that the *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foduye was a great transgression of the Shari’a since the people attacked were Muslims.³³²

The main sources that mainly produced the *Tanbīh* are three: *Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān li Asnāf Majlūb al-Sudān* of Ahmad Baba³³³ of Timbuktu and the correspondence of Al-Suyuti and Al-Maghili in justification against fighting the rulers of Hausaland and Borno. Tahir declared that even though, these rulers profess Islam, they retained some of their traditional pagan customs. Both letters of Al-Suyuti and Al-Maghili to the rulers of Hausaland deal with the administration of justice, commanding what is good, and

³³² Ahmad Tahir, *The Social Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Fudi*, 36.

³³³ Ahmad Bābā has always been considered by European scholars to have been one of the outstanding figures of mediaeval scholasticism in Timbuctoo. In spite of his fame, however, it appears that very little is really known about him in the world of oriental scholarship. For this reason, many inaccurate statements have been made about him and his work. For more details on his life, see J. O. Hunwick, "Ahmad Baba and the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (December 1962), pp.311-328

forbidding what is bad. For example, in the last paragraph of Al-Suyuti's letter, he emphasised, "whomsoever is faced with an issue, he should refer it to the Shari'a and as a knowledgeable person he must trust in his knowledge and obey his judgement. A man must have the fear of a day you all shall return therein to Allah and everyone shall be responsible for what he earned and shall not be oppressed. On the other hand, AL-Maghili, in his letter, admonished the rulers, "To realise that every person should be treated equally with regards to the ruling of Allah and His Messenger (PBUH), the scholar, the slave, the honourable and the leader is not exempted from the rulings. So, establish the right of Allah upon every slave with the fear of Allah and not by your whims".³³⁴

From the whole synopsis of the above two books written by Uthman bin Foduye, one may understand that the books are important treatises in the execution of revolutionary *Jihād* of Uthman. One thing that needs to be remembered is the tremendous influences of Imam Al-Suyuti and Al-Maghili to Uthman bin Foduye, religiously, socially and politically. This was due to the frequent references that Uthman used with the scholars, more especially in the above two books as evidently seen in the present discussion. To some extent, it may say that the *Jihād* of Uthman bin Foye against the rulers of Hausaland got its solid foundation from the writings of these scholars, though they were not critically opined that the Hausaland are unbelievers as Uthman considered them. Uthman bin Foye gives his solid reasons for fighting the rulers of Hausaland as he mentioned in chapter 6 of the *Tanbīh*. What comes after is an exposition of the reasons why Uthman and his community was successful in fighting with the rulers of Hausaland.

Nowadays, the idea of Muslim migration from the lands of unbelievers generates a lot of controversies and debates among the contemporary Muslim scholars.

³³⁴ See Adamu Bala and Suleiman Musa (edited and translated) *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān* in Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, vol. 3 (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House), 29.

Notwithstanding, understanding the concept of *Hijrah* is important prior to any judgement of whether it is applicable or not in the contemporary Muslims world. Al-Qahtani in his book *Al-Walā'u wal' Barā'*, mentioned the jurisprudential views concerning the “Abode of Disbelief” and that of “Islam” whereupon, the Abode of Disbelief is whatsoever land is ruled by the nonbelievers, in which the laws of the nonbelievers are supreme and political power is in their hands. Thus, the ruling concerning the dualistic types of lands and are divided into two, the one, which is at war with the Muslims, and the other one, which enjoys a cease-fire with them. The determining factor is that it is ruled by the laws of the disbelievers, for it is the “Abode of Disbelief” or “*Dār al-Kufr*”, even if a large majority of Muslims live there.³³⁵ However, the Abode of Islam is any land that is ruled by the Muslims, where the Sharī'a is the ultimate law and the Muslims hold political power. It is *Dr al-Islam*, even if the majority of the population are disbelievers, so long as the Muslims rule it according to the Sharī'a.³³⁶

Furthermore, as Islam is the religion of self-respect and authority, it was impossible to think of any Muslim surrendering himself to the disbelievers. Indeed, it is forbidden for a Muslim to go to live among them and acknowledge their authority over him, because his presence among them would make him feel weak and isolated, and, then he would become meek and apologetic to them. He would first be called upon to approve of them, and then to follow them. Muslims should be filled with confidence and self-assurance; they should be leaders, not followers. They should hold the reins of power; no power should be above them but that of Allah. Therefore, Muslims were forbidden to remain in countries where Islam is rejected, except when they are able to exercise their religion freely and to observe it without any obstruction, and without any

³³⁵ Abdur Rahman Ibn Sa'dee, "Al-Fatawee as-Sa'diyya", Vol. 1/92, 1st Edition, 13 8 8 A.H., Dar al-Hayat, Damascus. Retrieved from: Hijrah: <http://www.missionislam.com/knowledge/hijrah.htm>. “Migration for the cause of Allah” by Muhammad Sa'eed Al-Qahtani, *Al-Wala'u wal Barau*. Accessed on November 15, 2015.

³³⁶ Ibid.

fear that their presence there could hurt them in any way. If this is not the case, then they must migrate to a better place where the authority of Islam is of some account. If they refuse to do so, while they are able, then they would have no further claims on this religion.³³⁷

Uthman bin Foduye produced a number of literatures on the obligation of *Hijrah*, though, since it was not safe for him and his *Jamā'a* to remain within the territory of the leadership of Sultan of Gobir, he decided to leave. Furthermore, when Uthman bin Foduye saw that the number of his people had greatly grown and that they were demanding to be separated from the infidels and to establish *Jihād*, he began to exhort them towards making the provision for taking up arms. He said to them "It is the Prophetic practice to be weapon-ready".³³⁸ From there, his *Jamā'a* started to get it ready, and he (Uthman) asked Allah to let him witness the authority of Islam in these lands of Sudan. Uthman, therefore, wrote this prayer in his Qādiri poem in his local language (Fulfulde), and Abdullah made it into Arabic in some lines of poetry. The poem goes thus:

O Lord, Knower of the hidden well as the obvious
 Answer (the prayer) of whoever supplicates by Abdul-Qādir³³⁹!
 The blessings of Ahmad³⁴⁰ in the lands of Allah have indeed
 Covered everywhere and become great right in the place of Abdul-Qādir!
 O, Lord! O You who does favour to your servants
 Grant us contact by Your favour onto Abdul-Qādir!...
 Our faith goes with Sunna and obedience
 Grant me more thereby with (because of) Shaykh Abdul-Qādir!
 Disbelief, Innovations and the act of sinning (or disobedience),
 Distant from me because of the ramifying eminence of Abdul-Qādir...
 Make your religion victorious in these towns, let me witness (more) of the ranks of
 Abdul-Qādir³⁴¹!

Earlier to this time, Uthman had cut off himself and his community from the authority of the Hausa Sultan causing their frustration. But when he began to motivate

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 24-5.

³³⁹ He meant the famous Shaykh Muhyiddin AbdulQadir Jilāni, the most popular and revered saint of Islam. He was the founder of the Qādiriyya order Sufi.

³⁴⁰ He meant Prophet Muhammad (Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon him).

³⁴¹ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*..., 24-5.

his followers to pick up arms, the situation became unendurable. Consequently, the Sultan began to threaten the community (Uthman and his supporters) with annihilation, and sanctions were applied against it. Nafata, who had then succeeded to the sultanate of Gobir, revoked all what had been granted by his father to Uthman, he finally directed that:

- a. No man should become a Muslim unless he/she is a Muslim-born,
- b. All converts should return to their original faith,
- c. Men should no longer wear the turban, and women should no more veil themselves
- d. Nobody except Uthman himself should preach Islam.³⁴²

To understand the maximum cooperation and defence that Uthman bin Foduye got from his *Jamā'a*, it is important to note that it was because of the aforementioned restrictions by the Sultan of Hausaland that Uthman raised the alarm for *Jihād*, and his *Jama'a* confidently obeyed him. The people before this were followed the Sultan and now they obeyed Uthman bin Foduye with the conviction that their salvation in both worlds would only be attained by doing so and they would gain freedom from persecution by their rulers.

Moreover, due to the intimidations of Hausa rulers, a section of Uthman's community under 'Abdul-Salam (a powerful commander of Uthman) relocated from Gobir to Gimbana, under a jurisdiction of Kebbi. In the meantime, the Sultan of Gobir made an attempt on Uthman's life but failed.³⁴³ Subsequently, 'Uthman and some of his followers emigrated from Degel to Gudu, on 10th Dhul-Qāda 1218/21st February 1804,³⁴⁴ on his famous *Hijrah*, being a forerunner to his *Jihad*. Some of the followers remained behind, however, for fear of losing their wealth.³⁴⁵ With the *Hijrah*, the

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Fūdī, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, Ed. and Trans. by M Hiskett (Ibadan: I. U P. 1963), 108. Also, see Abdullahi bn Foduye, *Tazyīn Al-Waraqāt (Decorating Pages with some of my Poems)* edited and Translated by Suleiman Musa & Abubakar Buba Luwa..., 28-9.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

community decided to make a concerted effort against the Sultan of Gobir and his supporters. Therefore, they elected Uthman as their *Amīr al-Mūminīn* (leader of the Believers), pledging allegiance to him in line with the Qur’ān and the Sunnah.³⁴⁶ They built a fortification and betrothed in attacks against neighbouring towns. The *Jihād* appropriate began with the attack on them by Yunfa who had then succeeded to the throne of Gobir. With an army, which included Nubian, Tuareg, and even Fulani soldiers, Yunfa led an aggressive against Uthman’s army under ‘Abdullah, on 21 June 1804, at Lake Kwotto, only to be directed by Uthman’s forces.³⁴⁷ This battle was later compared to the Battle of *Badr*.³⁴⁸

It is noteworthy that the armies of the two sides were not composed entirely of any one tribe or race. As Yunfa’s army included Fulani soldiers, and so was ‘Uthman’s army, it included Hausa troops ‘Abdullah records:

We are an army dominant in Islam, and we are proud of nothing but that. Tribes of Islam and Turubbi are our clan, our Fulani and our Hausa all integrated. In addition, among us other than these, certain tribes joined for the help of Allah’s religion—made up the union³⁴⁹.

As already, mentioned, Uthman bin Foduye and his community had recorded great success at Lake Kwatto, such success encouraged them to further conquer

³⁴⁶ El-Masri demonstrated that immediately after Uthman became the leader of the believers, many groups within the Hausaland paid their allegiance to his mission. El-Masri further says “the following extract is reported by Uthman bin Foduye in his *Tahdhīr al-Ikhwān* (Kensdale 82/116) compiled in 1229 A.H./1814. It was a letter he received after he had become *Amir ai-Mu' minin* from a group of Tuareg. It reads as follows: 'The reason, too, for writing of this letter is to inform you that we pay respect to you to hear and obey, in adversity and ease, in enjoyment and plight, by our tongues and hearts. We confirm that we are your disciples, your *JAMĀ' A* and your children; command us of what you like and forbid us from what you do not; and guide us to what is our well-being in this world and the hereafter.' The letter goes on to tell the story of a man who had pretended to be the Mahdī among the Tuareg and to ask advice about him”. See El-Masri “The Life and Works of Uthman bin Foduye before the Jihad” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (December 1963), pp. 435-448 Published by: Historical Society of Nigeria Stable. Retrieved from: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856671A>. Accessed on March 24, 2015.

³⁴⁷ Abdallah bn Muhammad bn Fūdī, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, Ed. and Trans. by M Hiskett..., 108.

³⁴⁸ The reason why this battle was compared to the battle of *Badr* was due to the weak little of Uthman bin Foduye’s forces and the great number of the forces of Hausa rulers as Abdullahi himself admitted that only Allah knew their number (the forces of Hausa rulers). Nevertheless, Almighty Allah has granted victory to Uthman bin Foduye and his community. See Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn Al-Waraqāt*..., 29. This incident, in reality, resembled that of the companions of the Prophet (PBUH) and the *Kuffār* who were much in number during the battle of *Badr*, despite that Allah granted victory to Prophet Muhammad and his companions as He says, “And Allah has already made you victorious at *Badr* when you were a weak little force. So fear Allah much that you may be grateful”. Qur’an, Surah Āl-‘Imrān, 3:123.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

different territories of Hausaland. The victory has concerted the Sultans of Hausaland who, as retaliation for the disgrace restrained and attacked 'Uthman's followers living in their areas. Nevertheless, their action only gave further support to 'Uthman. Thereupon, he gave to each of the fourteen trusted companions a flag, blessed them and sent them out to fight in the name of Allah. The whole of the Hausaland was consequently plunged into *Jihād*, and by 1225 CE/1810 AH 'Uthman and his lieutenants had gained control of practically all the Hausa States.³⁵⁰ In a personal communication, Prof. Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim asserted that:

Up to the end of *Jihād*, Uthman bin Foduye did not participate, he only used to instruct his people to do what is accordingly, and he used to communicate them from a far distance place. This is by means of *Karāmāt*, once he says something they would hear him loudly.³⁵¹

More so, Uthman bin Foduye masterminded the *Jihād* and brought it to a successful completion. In fact, Uthman was the sponsor and inspirer of the 19th century Islamic revolutions that cleared through the Sudan. He combined in himself both bravery and piety. He remained a highly articulated preacher and a perfect author. The success of the Sokoto *Jihād* stemmed in part from the enlightened leadership of Uthman bin Foduye.³⁵²

From the foregoing, it is understood that Uthman's military power played a vital role in the successful consolidation of Islamic society. Thus, he conquered all states of Hausaland, although it has been in decline since in the 17th and 18th centuries. Meanwhile, Uthman and his society organised based on Islamic tenets. The idea of Islamic government arises; this marked the beginning of the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, which it grounded on the Glorious Qur'ān and Sunnah of the Prophet as its

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Professor Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim, interviewed for in-depth information to this study at the Department of Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria, on 16 September 2015.

³⁵² Adekunle Ojelabi, *A Text Book of West African History (1000. A.D. To the Present Day)*, (Ibadan: Educational Research Institute, 1970), 148.

constitutions. Hence, Uthman bin Foduye became the Caliph and the *Amīr al-Mūminīn* upon the allegiance paid to him by his supporters as clearly seen above.

2.15 Historical Overview of the Sokoto Caliphate³⁵³

Yunfa, the ruler of Gobir tried to assassinate Uthman bin Foduye but failed. This attempt led Uthman bin Foduye to declare *Jihād* in 1804, with the huge support from Fulani herdsmen and Hausa townsmen of his community. Subsequently, the *Jihād* was successful, and the Hausa States of Gobir finally declined in 1808. Thus, all the Hausaland was under the control of Uthman bin Foduye. Undoubtedly, this is what grounded the establishment of the Islamic government later known as the Sokoto Caliphate.

2.15.1 The Sokoto Caliphate: Its Location and Territories

The new government that arose during Uthman bin Foduye's revolutionary *Jihād* was recognised as the Sokoto Caliphate termed after his capital at Sokoto³⁵⁴ founded in 1810.³⁵⁵ Uthman bin Foduye's *Jihād* was a religious war that revolted against the

³⁵³ It is of paramount importance to know the time when the title "Sokoto Caliphate" is coined. An important question that arises here is, does Uthman bin Foduye use the name as using today? The answer in affirmative no. This is because of what Chinedu N. Ubah declared in his paper, which he affirms that "neither Uthman bin Foduye nor any of the two other members of the triumvirate, Sheikh Abdullah bin Foduye and Sheikh Muhammad Bello, ever used the expression the "Sokoto Caliphate" to refer to the expansive government they established. They were concerned with the need to appoint an *Amir* or Caliph and did not bother about the name of the territory over which he ruled. On the contrary which the fact lacks solid ground to support itself, Adeleye says, the caliphate was born when members of Uthman bin Foduye's community elected him their *Amir al-Muminin* at Gudu. Consequently, Murray Last was the first to refer to the territory under Uthman bin Foduye and his 19th century successors as 'Sokoto Caliphate'. See Chinedu N. Ubah, "The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004"...,vc 349. Therefore, all what Adeleye and Murray Last observed lack authentic evidence from the writings of Uthman bin Foduye and his lieutenants to support such assertions. To conclude with the fact which proves the existence of the Caliphate during the time of Uthman and his predecessors are yet not discovered. What might be assumed is that they have established Islamic government only.

³⁵⁴ Now, Sokoto is the capital of the State with the name, Sokoto State. It is located in the extreme Northwest of Nigeria near the meeting point of the Sokoto River and the Rima River. Sokoto is also the home of the Sokoto Caliphate with the Sultan who heads the Caliphate being the widely recognized leader of Nigerian Muslims. The name Sokoto is derived from the Arabic name *Sakkwato*, it represents "Suk" or "market". Sokoto does go by many names, which include *Sakkwato* and *Birnin Shehu da Bello* which means "Capital of Shehu and Bello". Retrieved from: <http://www.nigeria.to/cities/Sokoto/Sokoto.php5>. Accessed on 25 May, 2015.

³⁵⁵ Helen Chapia Metz, ed. Nigeria: A Country Study, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991.

existing socio-political system of Hausaland. With the *Hijra* of Uthman bin Foduye and his *Jamā'a* to Gudu, they fought many battles, some of which, they won and some lost. Consequently, with the seizure of Alkalawa, a solid ground for the establishment of a Caliphate with all its structures and headquarters was laid down. The Caliphate exercised authority over vast lands covering most of the Northern states of the present-day Federal Republic of Nigeria and extending its borders to some parts of the present-day Republic of Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and Mali. Even the powerful Kingdom of Borno lost some part of its territories to the Caliphate.³⁵⁶

Moreover, the leaders of this growing Caliphate were scholars of repute and they wrote a number of books to serve as guidelines for the administration of the Caliphate. The first *Amīrul Mūminīn* (Uthman), his full brother Abdullah and their son, Muhammad Bello became the basis of the Caliphate and they wrote broadly on religious, social, political and economic aspects of an Islamic government whose constitution was the embodiment of the Glorious Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the consensus of *Ulamā'*³⁵⁷.

Additionally, in the Islamic traditions and history, the Caliphate refers to a system of governance introduced by Abubakar al-Siddiq, the first Caliph after the demise of the Prophet (PBUH) and any other system of governance that is shaped along the Caliphate of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs. The concept is used here to refer to the system of governance introduced by the Sokoto *Jihād* scholars, after they had defeated and replaced the Gobir Kingdom, in line with the Caliphate of the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs. The Caliphate is commonly called the Sokoto Caliphate. It came into

³⁵⁶ See Sambo Wali Junaidu, "The Islamic Concept of Leadership and its Application in the Sakkwato Caliphate", 1

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

being with the overthrow of Alkalawa in October 1810 and came to an end with the occupation of Sokoto by the Imperial forces of Britain in 1903³⁵⁸.

The Caliphate was a merger of Borno Empire and the Hausa States and had its capital in Sokoto in the present-Northern Nigeria. It was one of the largest Empires in Africa during the 19th century. It developed as a result of Uthman's *Jihād* which took place in the early decade of the 19th century through the areas of present-day Northern Nigeria. The Caliphate became the centre of economics and politics in the region until it fell to British colonial armies in the early 20th century. The Caliphate remained the most powerful Empire in sub-Saharan Africa for a century until the European conquest and subsequent colonisation in the early 20th century.³⁵⁹

The above clearly indicates the origin of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is understood that, it was due to the successful *Jihād* which headed by Uthman bin Foduye steered to the establishment of the Caliphate, which gradually expands and finally became the most powerful Islamic government in the sub-Saharan region, presently known as West Africa. All the achievements were recorded with the assistant of Uthman bin Foduye's relations and his disciples. The Caliphate grew rapidly based on the idea of Islamic calling or rather a religious law. Later, Uthman bin Foduye resigned from religious politics and concentrate on teaching, preaching and writing. Subsequently, he divided the Caliphate into two divisions, but he remained the *Amīr al-Mūminīn*, as will be elucidated in the next discussion.

2.15.2 The System of Government in the Caliphate

The preceding describes the initial stage of the development of the Sokoto Caliphate, which it encompasses most of the present West African countries. The concern here is

³⁵⁸ Jafar Makau Kaura, "Relevance of Qadiriyya Sufism in the Jihad and its Moderative Effect on the Leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate", A Paper Presented at the Conference of Ulama Organised to Commemorate the 200 years of Sokoto Caliphate (Sokoto, Nigeria: Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa Institute of Qur'anic and General Studies, 2004), 5.

³⁵⁹ A. Arnali, *The Practice of Muslim Family Law in Nigeria*, (Zaria: Tamaza Publishing Company Limited, 1998), 16.

the description of the system of administration in the Caliphate before the death of Uthman bin Foduye, and its subsequent expansion after his death in 1817. It should be noted that Uthman bin Foduye before his death organised the Caliphate into a series of emirates under his moral authority. One division was governed by his younger brother, Abdullahi bin Foduye, the other by his son, Muhammed Bello (1781-1837), whom he named Emir of Sokoto in 1809. It was Bello, who made Sokoto the capital, although Uthman bin Foduye did not transfer there until 1815. From 1809 until 1815 he lived in the village of Sifawa³⁶⁰, where, although officially still *Amīr*, he more or less retired from governance (especially after 1811) but continued to write and to teach. He was deeply concerned with good governance and wanted his community to be as non-exploitative as possible. As early as 1806, he had written a treatise, the *Bayān Wujūb al-hijra ‘alal ‘Ibād* (1806) in which he sets out his ideas on governance.³⁶¹

Similarly, “all officials, such as tax collectors, judges, military and civil leaders must be pious and honest and the latter would be chosen from the ranks of the religious scholars. Nor was he indiscriminating of how some of the officials in his own empire were failing to live up to his principles, and were using their positions to grow rich at others’ expense. Uthman bin Foduye is widely considered to have been a *mujaddid*, a reformer for his age. His writing and scholarship are still respected. The policy he created was the first united political system in that area of Africa. He may well have consciously mirrored aspects of Muhammad’s career, which had given Arabia its first integrated political state”.³⁶²

On the other hand, Muhammad Bello developed the new capital at Sokoto, turning it into a major centre. The empire in the nineteenth-century is often referred to as the Sokoto Caliphate. Uthman bin Foduye’s brother Abdullahi bin Foduye continued

³⁶⁰ Presently, Sifawa is a town which is located under Bodinga Local Government Area of Sokoto State, Nigeria.

³⁶¹ Retrieved from: www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fulani_Sultanate. Accessed on 10 May 2015.

³⁶² Ibid.

to rule in the West and this position, known as the Emirate of Gwandu, was passed to his heirs though remained subordinated to Sokoto.³⁶³ In addition to its military ability, “the Empire became known for its scholarship. Bello, Abdullahi, and Uthman bin Foduye were all considered great scholars and notwithstanding ruling such a vast state, all three continued to produce a substantial output of poetry, and texts on religion, politics, and history. Sokoto remains the main centre of Islamic learning in Nigeria”.³⁶⁴

Apart from Uthman bin Foduye’s relatives in his team for struggling and expanding the Caliphate, other groups of disciples assisted him. Prominent among them were those whom he gave flags to go back to their areas and preach their people. Among a flag bearers include, Yakubu of Bauchi, who was said the only non-Fulani among the flag bearers, Namoda of Kaura³⁶⁵, Umaru Dallaji of Katsina, and Sulaiman of Kano. Others are Buba Yero of Gombe³⁶⁶, Ibrahim Zaki al-Qalb of Katagum³⁶⁷, Modibbo Adama of Adamawa³⁶⁸ and Muhammad Manga of Misau³⁶⁹ respectively.³⁷⁰

³⁶³ This was so controversial issue, most of the researchers believe that the Emirate of Gwandu was until now remained subordinated to the Sokoto. Therefore, Prof. Yakubu Yahaya Ibrahim, when interviewed, objected this view, saying that since during the time of Uthman bin Foduye, he did not show any superiority of one Emirate over the other. Rather he only asked Bello, his son to take over the control of Eastern part of the Emirate, while his brother, Abdullah to take control of the Western part. To him, there is no way to say Gwandu is inferior to the Sokoto; he finally argues that they are all independent. (Interview, held on 16 September 2015 at Islamic Studies Department, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria).

³⁶⁴ The Fulani Sultanate, Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Kaura Namoda is a Local Government Area of Zamfara state in Northeastern part of Nigeria, on the Gagere River (a tributary of the Rima). Originally a small settlement of Maguzawas (an animistic Hausa people), it was ruled by the kings of Zamfara, one of the *banza bakwai* (“the seven illegitimate states” of the Hausa people), whose capital was moved from Birnin Zamfara (43 mi [69 km] north-northwest) to Kiyawa (20 mi east-southeast) c. 1756. After Kiyawa was captured c. 1806 in the Fulani *jihād* (“holy war”) led by Usman dan Fodio, a Fulani warrior named Namoda was installed as *sarkin* (“king of”) *Zamfara*, and many of the Kiyawa peoples, the ... (100 of 272 words). Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <https://global.britannica.com/place/Kaura-Namoda>.

³⁶⁶ Now, Gombe is a state in Northeast part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with its headquarters in the same city.

³⁶⁷ The history of Katagun, which is about 150 miles due east of Kano, dates only from the time of the *Jihad* of Uthman bin Foduye in the early years of the 19th century, when Malam Zaki took up the Uthman’s cause in that area. Malam Zaki’s full name was Zaki al-Kalbi, his father being an Arab from bagirmi, who moved first to Nafada, and his mother was the daughter of the chief. See J. Hogben,²⁵⁸ Now, Katagun is a local Government Area of bauchi State of Nigeria with its headquarters at Azare.

³⁶⁸ Now, Adamawa is state in Northeastern part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with its headquarters at Yola.

³⁶⁹ Misau is a small emirate lying between Bauchi and Katagun. It has been ruled by the descendent of a Bornu Fulani named Gwani Mukhtar since it was captured from its Habe king in 1827 by Yakubu of bauchi and Dan Kauwa of Katagun. It was then handed over to Mamman Manga on the orders of the

The above is an indication of Uthman bin Foduye's attempts to consolidate the Islamic government and its system in an Islamic manner. Thus, from the time of its establishment to date, it has two hundred and eleven years old (211). The government is structured on the federal system, which is similar to the present Nigerian system of government. Accordingly, the Sokoto Caliphate was a "Federated system, complex, mixed, varied, heterogeneous and plural. It was unparalleled in the history of West Africa and exceptional for its sophisticated administrative machinery. Indeed, it was first state in the Nigerian area to established itself and manage multiplicity of tribes and ethnic groups within its borders. It was neither tribal nor ethnic or regional policy, but a welfare state based on social justice, equity and fair play derived from the Shari'a. No discrimination whatsoever before tribes, instead all were given equal chance to serve in the best was possible in their profession and proficiency. One of the most noteworthy achievements of the Caliphate was an intellectual revolution, knowledge and scholarship became the main preoccupation of the state and persons".³⁷¹

2.15.3 Shari'ah Administration in the Caliphate

Uthman bin Foduye's theory of government is "based on late 'Abbasid sources for the Shari'a, and much of it is clearly apologetic. His use of the terms *Khalīfa* (Caliph), *Imāms*, and *Amīr al-Mūminīn* are to be understood in the context of his manuscripts (*Kitāb al-Farq*) as 'head of the Fulāni Empire', while in a political sense 'Islam' is synonymous with this Empire. *Al-Muslimūn* are the loyal subjects of the Empire, while his opponents are nonbelievers of varying degrees".³⁷² The Sokoto Caliphate gradually introduced the application of Shari'ah from individual to collective level. The leader of

Sultan in 1831. See J. Hogben, 272. Today, Misau is a local government Area of Bauchi state of Nigeria with its headquarters in the same city.

³⁷⁰ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, in Gidadawa, 46.

³⁷¹ Mukhtar Umar Bunza, "The Sokoto Caliphate After Two Hundred Years: A Reflection," a paper presented at the 'Ulama Conference on Bicentenary Commemoration of the Sokoto Caliphate (Sokoto, Nigeria: Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa Institute of Qur'an and General Studies, Sokoto, 2004), 1.

³⁷² M. Hiskett, in the conclusion of his translation to *Kitāb al-Farq* of Uthman bin Foduye, 29.

the Caliphate used his religious and political powers as the founder of the *Jamā'a* or Islamic community to establish a Shari'a administration that governed the people of the Hausa states and some neighbouring territories under a single central administration. Progressively, Shari'a, the Islamic law was fully administered for the first time in the region's history.³⁷³ The administration of Islamic law was in all matters, whether criminal or civil, decided by the Shari 'ah with the Amir himself as the spiritual, executive, judicial and political leader (*Imām*).³⁷⁴ The rationale behind these powers being conferred in the Caliph or *Amir* is that he was considered a vicegerent of Allah and His Messenger, in whose hands the original authorities of these powers lied.

During his lifetime, the Prophet being the model in this respect was considered the central authority of the Muslim '*Ummah* in all spiritual, administrative, judicial and political aspects of the people's endeavours. But this did not negate the functions of other appointed office holders in both managerial and judicial sectors. All it implies is that all were answerable to him being the *Imām* and he remained the height authority for the whole system in all its consequences. He exercised such authority in either direct or supervisory capacity as the case may be. Same was the role played by his caliphs one after the other. This is the system of rule, which the Sokoto Caliphate designated for the office of the *Imām*.³⁷⁵

In describing the Shari'a administration in Sokoto Caliphate, it appears from the picture of its organisation that it adopted the division of the functions of the government into three constitutional tiers. The executive as headed by administrators at the various sectors of government such as *Zakāt* and *Jihād* institutions all under the office of the *Wazīr* (prime minister), the legislative as symbolised by a constituent assembly called *Shūra*, and the judiciary manned by learned judges appointed by the Caliph. All the

³⁷³ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 229.

³⁷⁴ A. I. Abikan, "The Application of Islamic Law in Civil Cases in Nigerian Courts", *Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 2002, 3.

³⁷⁵ Ibrahim Sulaiman, *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio*, 34-39.

three tiers remain subordinate and answerable to the office of the *Imām*.³⁷⁶ This implies that there was separation of powers but there was no autonomy of powers.

Although there was a symbolic political dispute between the two most important figures in the Caliphate after the death of its founder between the Caliph's son and successor and his brother, the latter authored a treatise that analyses the constitutional set-up of the Caliphate, known as *Sabīl al-Salāmah fī al-Imāmah* (Path of Peace on the Imamate).³⁷⁷ In the treatise, the features and objectives of the Caliphate were analysed, namely: leadership is based on merit, establishment of justice for all and sundry, supremacy of the divine law over all persons and authorities, property belongs to Allah. In addition, is held as a trust on behalf of the society and protection of the rights of the people and eradication of evil and corruption. The treatise was very significant to the Caliphate, in that it lays down fundamentals of the administration of government applying the system of separation of powers of arms of government into executive, legislative and the judiciary.³⁷⁸

2.16 The Decline of the Sokoto Caliphate to British Colonialism

The decline of the Sokoto Caliphate will be elaborated in relation to its internal and external factors in the following paragraphs.

2.16.1 Internal Factors

From the sphere of internal factors, what comes immediately after the demise of Uthman bin Foduye was disintegration, conflicts, and political crisis between the leaders of the Caliphate. This led to the gradual decline of the Caliphate. Perhaps, the re-adoption of administration of traditional rulers in pre-*Jihād* period, which at the beginning criticised and condemned by Uthman bin Foduye contributed to the decline

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 40-43.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 11.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 34-43.

of the Caliphate. This implies negligence of maintaining the Sharī‘a system in the Caliphate. “The leaders of the Caliphate had gradually abandoned some of the Islamic teachings that the Caliphate was established upon. However, a thorough investigation of the political economy demonstrates that the Sokoto Caliphate was already in decline when the European invasion began. This decline can be understood in terms of the inability of the Caliphate to evolve a social formation, which embodied the ideals of the *Jihād*. Thus, in the middle of the 19th century, internal challenges were already undermining the state and setting in motion a process of decline, which was to become “inherent” by the time of the British invasion. Because of these internal problems, Caliphate forces were not able to mount any substantial resistance to the European invasion”.³⁷⁹

To ascertain the existence of Islamic government prior to the end of 19th century; and the subsequent political crisis that infiltrated the major emirates in the Caliphate, it is significant to note that, “the Fulani Muslim theocracy provided steady government for a period. Clapperton³⁸⁰ comments on the good state of law and security prevailing in the Fulani Empire during the times of peace. While Barth³⁸¹ records that, the empire as a whole was well administered under Bello and Atiku (the sons of Uthman bin Foduye). Later, by the time Barth visited the area the centrifugal tendencies inherent in all such feudal empires had begun to operate. Kebbi was in revolt. Zamfara was with difficulty held down. Katsina fought over by the contending armies of the Fulani and the king of Maradi³⁸². Kano was harassed by Bukhari; Sokoto and Gwandu were divided by the

³⁷⁹ Kabiru Sulaiman Chafe. *Challenges to the Hegemony of the Sokoto Caliphate: A Preliminary Examination*, *Paideuma*, 40, 99-109. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40341678>.

³⁸⁰ He was one of the British agent sent to assess the power and strength of the Sokoto Caliphate; and determine the natural resources of the area with the aims of invasion. On the other hand, he was considered one of the European spies on the basis of what he assigned to do.

³⁸¹ He was Dr. Barth, European agent, also sent with Clapperton for the same purposes.

³⁸² Now, Maradi is a city in Niger Republic, West Africa.

personal rivalry of Aliyu and Khalilu, while the Gobirawa³⁸³ and armies of Bornu made constant inroads into the Fulani domains”.³⁸⁴

Nonetheless, “taxes were still paid to Sokoto in Barth’s time, and despite the increasing incidence of war and revolt, the structure held together, and had not entirely broken down when the area passed under British control at the beginning of twenty-century. It is therefore the case that for the century after the *Jihād* the Fulani Empire did reflect in broad outline, though with diminishing effectiveness the pattern of political change, and religious reform which Uthman bin Foduye had sought to bring about”.³⁸⁵

Further, the reasons for the decline of the Sokoto Caliphate, it is pertinent to note, “Uthman bin Foduye’s administration had been unchallenged and disinterested. He could therefore resolve all political disputes which arose between his followers; but Bello lacked Uthman bin Foduye’s charisma, seniority, and political independence”.³⁸⁶ Moreover, “during a series of succession crises under Bello, competing interests within the new Fulani ruling groups encouraged the progressive adoption of Habe political forms and official structures for territorial and city administration, palace organisation, taxation, levies, war, market administration and the like. By no means was this reinstitution of Habe governmental forms complete or exact. Many innovations designed to establish Islam and its practices were introduced; in other cases, old Habe forms were adapted to new rules and functions, and much of the Habe machinery may have been lost, erased by the conditions of conquest, by the composition and needs of the new ruling group, and by changes in other elements of the system”.³⁸⁷ However,

³⁸³ See the footnote of page 76 of the present study.

³⁸⁴ Hiskett, "Kitab al-farq: a work on the Habe kingdoms attributed to 'Uthman dan Fodio", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXIII, part. 3, London, 1960, 30

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ M. G. Smith, Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption among the Hausa, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jan., 1964), 164-194.

³⁸⁷ M. G. Smith, Government in Zazzau 1800-1950 (Oxford, 1960), 141-8.

whatever “the bases or intentions of these developments, they were all in direct disobedience to the Shaykh’s (Uthman bin Foduye) instructions”.³⁸⁸

Even today, the Fulani recognise this. “They minimised criticism by limiting the distribution of these political tracts by Uthman bin Foduye. They also seek to evade criticism by observing the letter of bin Foduye’s commands as best they may. Thus, the holders of common Habe titles such as Ciroma³⁸⁹, Galadima³⁹⁰, Madaki³⁹¹ or Wambai may be designated in Arabic or Fulani as *Amīrs* of particular districts or fiefs. Hajji Sa’id’s account of the Sokoto Empire from 1817 to 1849 illustrates the use of these Arabic designations”.³⁹²

Additionally, all forms of un-Islamic government and mode of corruption that have been explained and instructed by Uthman bin Foduye in *Kitāb al-Farq* and *Bayān Wujāb al-Hijrah alal’ ‘Ibād*, had ignored by the Fulani leaders. To understand this, it is important to note that the Fulāni leaders who acknowledged Hausa titles, offices, and modes of political organisation in order to stabilise relations among themselves and with their subjects, also adopted the Habe political and administrative practices forbidden by their leader (Uthman bin Foduye) and law alike. So also, taxes continued to be made on markets for grain and other supplies, in Katsina and in Fulani Daura for meat at *Ṣallah*, (Festival celebrations at Ed al-Fitr) when taxes were also collected; and *kāmuwa*³⁹³ gradually developed into *wasau* (the forcible seizure of property belonging

³⁸⁸ M. Hiskett, "Kitab al-farq: a work on the Habe kingdoms attributed to 'Uthman dan Fodio", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXIII, part. 3, London, 1960, 579.

³⁸⁹ Ciroma was a title given to a son of the paramount chief or emir. See Deborah Pellow, *Landlords and Lodgers: Socio-Spatial Organization in an Accra Community* (London: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd, 1945), 59.

³⁹⁰ He was in charge of the capital city. Normally, he was the representative of Emir in his absence at any occasion.

³⁹¹ He was the commander of the army. Retrieved on 23 October, 2016, from <http://passnownow.com/classwork-exercise-and-series-civic-education-ss2-pre-colonial-system-in-nigeria-hausafulani-system/>. These titles were still used in most of the Nigerian emirates.

³⁹² C. E. J. Whitting (transl.), *A History of Sokoto*, by El Haj Sa'id (Kano, Nigeria: Ife-Olu Printing Works, n.d), np.

³⁹³ *Kāmuwa* was among the illegal practices of traditional rulers (Habe) of Hausaland, which Uthman bin Foduye denounced and condemned because of its contradiction with the Islamic teachings. The term *Kāmuwa* literally means illegal seizure of property, it specifically applied to the commandeering of beasts of burden. See M. Hiskett, *Kitāb al-farq*: "A Work on the Habe Kingdoms Attributed to 'Uthman dan

to a political offender, official or other). Judicial administration persisted ambiguous, some states, as well as some rulers, being superior in this respect. Several injunctions of Muslim law besides those relating to booty were poorly applied, among them the laws of divorce, inheritance, land tenure and women's status.³⁹⁴

Moreover, practices expressly forbidden by Uthman bin Foduye as anti-Islamic, such as self-abasement by throwing dirt on one's head, illegal use of cash compensation for certain offences, and compulsory military service, all flourished once more. *Gāisuwa*, the term for greeting, is synonymous with the giving of presents, including *toshi* or bribes. Unauthorised fines (*tāra*) are often hardly distinguishable from levies or blackmail. *Toshi*, *tara* and *gāisuwa* of various sorts were all widespread until at least 1950. *Jizya*, the poll-tax due from non-Muslim subjects, was irregular in incidence and collection, the vassals administering these populations submitting their tribute in goods, especially slaves.³⁹⁵

In view of the above, one cannot deny that since before the colonial invasion of the Sokoto Caliphate, it was in total decline due to internal challenges that have been prevalent at the time. It may be assumed that the leaders have changed their mind from protecting and stabilising the young Caliphate to their personal interest of leadership. These subsequently led them to disintegration and conflicts. Similarly, the bond that united them had disappeared. The internal factors might be the most overwhelming in the collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate. The British may have not defeated them if they had maintained a common interest and practiced what they were taught.

Fodio", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1960), 573. Also, see M. G. Smith, Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption among the Hausa, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Jan., 1964), 170-71.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 176

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

2.16.2 External Factors

The Caliphate had started coming into contact with the British during the period of Muhammad Bello. At the early stage of their relationship, the British had presented themselves as those interested in trade and commercial relations with the Caliphate. “Hugh Clapperton and other explorers exchanged gifts with Sultan Muhammad Bello on behalf of the British Government. Thereafter, treaties were signed over the period of the relation with different Sultans and Emirs. The Caliphal leadership from Bello to Sultan Aliyu in 1853 and finally to Abdurrahman in 1899 approved certain commercial and trading agreements with the British within the limits of the Shari‘a. This is because marketable transactions with non-Muslims, particularly the people of the Book, involving legal articles of trade is allowed in Islam. Mischievously however, these treaties were turned by the British to justify their occupation and sovereignty over the lands of the Caliphate”.³⁹⁶

Before the end of 1903, the British had conquered most of the Emirates that are under the Caliphate. This includes the Emirate of Ilorin,³⁹⁷ Kontagora,³⁹⁸ Nupe, Bauchi and Kano among others. Thus, it was in this way they completed their occupation of Nigeria. Despite that, the only thorny problem for the British was that both Sokoto and Gwandu, the traditional capitals of the Fulāni Empire, were antagonistic to the British. In May 1902, Sultān Abdurrahman of Sokoto wrote a letter to Lugard (the colonial master), wherein addressed that:

From the authority of us to you, I do not agree that any one of you should ever live with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to

³⁹⁶ Bunza, “The Sokoto Caliphate After Two Hundred Years: A Reflection,” 11-12.

³⁹⁷ The emirate of Ilorin is still in existence. Now, it is the capital city of Kwara State, which was located in the Northcentral part of Nigeria. Traditionally, ilorin was one of the traditional Hausa states, being reckoned as one of the Bansa bakwai, or illegitimate seven. See J. Hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the States of Northern Nigeria* 152.

³⁹⁸ Kontagora was the emirates which derived from the Sokoto Empire, the South-Western States. The founder of the present emirates was a member of the ruling house of Sokoto called Umaru Nagwammatsē, who built the town of kontogora for himself in about 1864 in the Kambari country as a centre for a new Kingdom. He had been born in 1806, the tenth son of the second Sultan of Sokoto, Abubakr Atiku, from whom he inherited his stern and warlike disposition, but he did not have his father’s strict devotion to religious observance. See J. hogben, *An Introduction to the History of the States of Northern Nigeria* 276.

do with you. Between you and us, there are no dealings except as between Muslims and nonbelievers, - combat, as Almighty Allah has enjoined on us. There is no power or strength except with Allah, the Most High, with salutations.³⁹⁹

Lugard took it as a great abuse, and fought with the Sultan. Regrettably, on the 14 March 1903, the Sokoto army was defeated. The Sultan fled from Sokoto. Lugard assembled the Waziri (vizier) and the Chiefs on 19 March 1903, and asked them to either recall the fleeing Sultan, Attahiru Ahmadu, or elect a new one in his place. Sultan Muhammad Attahiru (1903-1915) was then chosen as new Sultan. In a speech, approving Attahiru's appointment Lugard made it clear the old Empire of Uthman bin Foduye had ended. He therefore declared that:

The old agreements are dead you have killed them. Today these are the words, which I, the High Commissioner, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times under Uthman bin Foduye conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to overthrow Kings and to create Kings. They in turn have by defeat, lost their rule, which has come into the hands of the British. All these things, which I have said, the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of State will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout all this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the peoples as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident. Purchasing and marketing slaves and enslaving people are forbidden. All men are free to worship God as they please. We will treat mosques and prayer places with respect... It is the earnest desire of the King of England that this country shall prosper and grow rich in peace and in contentment that the population shall increase and the ruined towns, which abound everywhere, shall be built up, and that war and trouble shall cease. Hereafter no Emir or Chief shall levy war or fight, but law will settle his case, and if force is necessary Government will employ it... You need not to have fright regarding British rule, it is our wish to learn your customs and fashion, just as you must learn ours. I have little fear that we shall agree, since you often heard that British rule is just and fair, and people under our King are satisfied. You must not fear to tell the Resident everything and he will help and advise you.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ D. J. M. Muffett, *Concerning Brave Captains: A History of Lord Lugard's Conquest of Hausaland Being a History of the British Occupation of Kano and Sokoto and of the Last Stand of the Fulani Forces* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), 34-51.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

The colonial era started, and as time passed, the Sultan of Sokoto merely remained as a titular.⁴⁰¹ However, the implication of the above statement started manifesting where the Sultan the overall leader and the dispenser of the affairs of the Caliphate became an appointee of the Governor General. This trend continued after independence. The President of Nigeria like the High Commissioner of those days either elected or self-impose, directly or through his representative as a state Governor or even a local Government chairperson can impose or depose Sultan or Emir in the whole of the areas of the Caliphate.⁴⁰²

The British thereafter laid down their rules and administrative machinery with the Residents, District officers and other European officials as superior, reducing the role the Sultan and his Emirs to the collection of taxes. As Albasu pointed out in his work, “the office of the Sultan was the most affected organ by the British rule than any other institution in the Sokoto Caliphate. The role of the Sultan as the chief Justice of the Caliphate was transferred to the High Commissioner, his influence which hitherto all over the Caliphate was limited to the Sokoto Emirates only; he was more as traditional monarch rather than a functional Muslim leader.”⁴⁰³

2.17 Conclusion

To conclude, Nigerian society has been subjected to various transformations prior to its emergence as the Federal Republic of Nigeria today. The society (Hausaland) in its historical setting witnessed the arrival of various Islamic scholars more especially from North Africa. They had played a substantial role even though they did not successfully change the society like what Uthman bin Foduye in the early 19th century did. Hence, it is clear that Uthman bin Foduye’s life played an important role. Although, he grew up

⁴⁰¹ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria*, 75.

⁴⁰² Bunza, “The Sokoto Caliphate After Two Hundred Years: A Reflection,” 13.

⁴⁰³ Sabo Albasu, “From Caliph to Sultan: The Changing Role and Function of the “Caliph” of Sokoto after British Conquest”, npp.

from a family distinguished with Islamic scholarship, yet, what he received from his teachers had inspired him remarkably to bring about new Islamic society. This is because Uthman discovered that his society was in darkness of ignorance about Islam. However, based on what Islam provided concerning the principles of the organisation of Islamic society, Uthman noted that it is obligatory for him to adopt philosophical methods in order to implement what the Sharī'a provided.

It was in this situation, he systematically adopted teaching, preaching as well as writing. He was an itinerant and resident scholar for the smooth running of his changing society. This also gave him quick mobilisation of people. Due to his sound and reasonable approaches in disseminating the knowledge of Islam, within a short time, many people responded to his mission. He extended his mission to the noble people, and finally succeeded in changing the society from traditional religion to pure Islamic religion according to the teachings of the Glorious Qur'an and Sunnah of the Prophet. This happened in the evolutionary period.

From the second part of the discussion, Uthman attempt to changing Nigerian society changed from a peaceful process to confrontation. This happened due to the fear of traditional rulers for Uthman's growing community, and the fear that he will overthrow their government if they refuse to take any major action. Soon later, without hesitation, one of the rulers tried to kill him and failed. This encouraged his community to fight against the pagan rulers. From there, Uthman ordered his supporters to fight against the Hausa rulers until Allah granted them victory against them. The wisdom behind this is to maintain peace unless where one is attacked then self-defence is allowed in Islam. Consequently, after successful defeats of the Kingdom of Hausaland in 1809, Uthman, based on the cooperation of his supporters had established Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate.

Once the Caliphate was established, soon later Uthman left the managerial activities of the Caliphate to his successors. Later on, crises and conflicts broke out among the leaders in various emirates and his successors gradually departed from his teachings and the legacies that he left behind for the continuation of the Caliphate. These factors led to the gradual decline of the Caliphate and the subsequent invasion by the British imperialist. Meanwhile, the British had completely occupied Nigeria and destroyed the Islamic system of the Caliphate. Despite that, nowadays, the Sokoto Caliphate and its leaders are still respected because of their direct relations with the *Jihād* leaders.

CHAPTER 3: IBN KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF 'UMRĀN FOR THE ORGANISATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF HUMAN SOCIETY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter describes the biography of Ibn Khaldun briefly to avoid repetition. Then, it proceeds to examine Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān and its basic elements which include, *Ijtimā'*, *Ta'āwun* and *Difā'* for the successful organisation of human society. In addition, the chapter studies two types of human societies as Ibn Khaldun divided them into *Badawī* and *Haḍarī*. It exposes people's lifestyle in both societies and highlights the qualities that each one distinguishes itself from the other. However, the chapter investigates the role of 'Aṣabiyyah (group feeling, blood-ties, brotherhood, solidarity and social cohesion) in the transformation or changing of human society from simple life to the most difficult one with extravagance. By considering this, the chapter looks at the thoughts of some founding fathers of Western sociology on social change in which the chapter expounds how they share the same views with Ibn Khaldun on the evolution of human societies. Moreover, the chapter analyses the differences between the strength and power of 'Aṣabiyyah in 'Umrān *Badawī* and 'Umrān *Haḍarī* and what leads to the decline of the latter. Similarly, the chapter vividly elucidates the necessity of 'Aṣabiyyah in any religious calling for changing or any revolution in human society ('Umrān). Additionally, for the safety of human society, the chapter studies the necessity of 'Aṣabiyyah for the appointment of someone to serve as an authority to prevent people from unnecessary attacks in the society. Finally, the chapter illustrates the nature of political leadership in a society, which is either under religious laws or on rational politics. The chapter surveys how 'Aṣabiyyah and religion cement leadership in human society.

3.2 Framework of Ibn Khaldun's Concept of 'Umrān

It should be noted that Ibn Khaldun is well popular known in the globe who himself wrote his biography in a detailed manner. At the same time, in the contemporary period, various intellectuals, academics, researchers and students have attempted in writing the biography of Ibn Khaldun. Historically, Ibn Khaldun is a great Maghribian scholar of history, sociology, economic and political science. He is an outstanding 14th-century sociologist whose famed reached everywhere in the globe. So also, he has many social concepts, but the most famous are 'Umrān and its central concept 'Aṣabiyyah. Hence, they constitute the main subjects matter of his discussion in the entire *Muqaddimah* or Prolegomena. What distinguishes Ibn Khaldun from other historians is his unique approach to the presentation of the science of organisation of human society and civilisation ('Umrān). The outcome of Ibn Khaldun's popularity was the facts that he is Abdurrahman Abu Zaid Wali al-Dīn Ibn Khaldun.⁴⁰⁴

He was born in Tunis on Ramadan 1, 732 A.H. (May 27, 1332, AD) and died in Cairo (1406)⁴⁰⁵ as a Grand Qādi of the *Malikite* school of thought. He belonged to the family of Arab Yemenite origin who had initially settled in Andalusia (Muslim Spain) then later immigrated to Tunis in the middle of the seventh century of *Hijrah*.⁴⁰⁶ Educationally, Ibn Khaldun, in addition to his father who taught him the science of Arabic, he studied under different scholars who taught him various sciences which include namely, Qur'ān exegesis, Prophetic tradition, logic, poetry, Islamic jurisprudence among others. Thus, all his teachers satisfied with his intellectual abilities and gave him *ijāzah* (certificate of excellence) to go and impart what he learned accordingly.⁴⁰⁷ Apart from his *al-Muqaddimah*, he authored other books on different fields of knowledge, which include among others *Taṣawwuf*, *Usūl al-Fiqh*, and logic. In

⁴⁰⁴ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān Mind*, 4

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Abdullahi Enan, *Ibn Khaldun: His Life & Work*, 2.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 7.

sum, Ibn Khaldun's whole life may be divided into three phases, the first twenty years of his life was busied by childhood and education, the second phase of twenty-three years of his life was the time of his active participation in political ventures and continuation of learning. In the third phase of thirty-one years (of his life which is the largest phase, he became a teacher, scholar, and Qādi. The first two phases of Ibn Khaldun's life were spent in the Muslim West and the third was divided between the Maghreb and Egypt.⁴⁰⁸

Ibn Khaldun's thought lit the fire of interest among intellectuals of both East and West even far outside Medievalist and orientalist community. Among the Western scholars who inspired and influenced Ibn Khaldun's ideas are Ernest Gellner of twenty century and Arnold Toynbee. Many thinkers have confidently accepted Ibn Khaldun as one of their great thinker⁴⁰⁹ whose thoughts are still relevant to yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Among Muslim intellectuals who were influenced and admired Ibn Khaldun's thought are Ibn Hajar al-Asqalāni (d. 1449), and Taqī Uddīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442). They are all great historian of Egypt.⁴¹⁰

3.2.1 The Basic Elements of 'Umrān

This section focuses on elucidating the basic elements of Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān, although the concept dealt with various issues as Ibn Khaldun himself admitted in his *Muqaddimah* that:

In the work, I commented on civilisation, on urbanisation, and on the essential characteristics of the human social organisation, in a way that explains to the reader how and why things are as they are, and shows him how the men who constituted a dynasty first came upon the historical

⁴⁰⁸ Ibn Khaldun. Retrieved from: <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ei2/KHALDUN.htm>. Accessed on 16 December, 2015.

⁴⁰⁹ Allen James Fromhere. *Ibn Khaldun: Life and Time* (Great Britain: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2010), 4.

⁴¹⁰ Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun In Egypt: His Public Functions and His Historical Research* (1382-1406) *A Study in Islamic Historiography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 28.

scene... As a result, this book (the *Muqaddimah*) has become unique, as it contains unusual knowledge and familiar if hidden wisdom.⁴¹¹

The present discussion will be limited to the concepts that are related to ‘*Umrān* to examine the dynamics of human society or the cause and changes that take place in the human social organisation. In addition, the elements that are collectively produced ‘*Umrān*, its types and its central concept ‘*Aṣabiyyah* will be elaborated. It is noteworthy that Ibn Khaldun introduced the concept of ‘*Umrān* to explain social organisation and civilisation. The main purpose of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umrān* is to understand “the dynamics of the history of the Arab and non-Arab societies and their civilisations”.⁴¹² Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umrān* can be taken as a guide to know how human society develops and why it terminates. That is to say, the forces behind the development and dissolution or disintegration must be understood in the light of the concept.

Conversely, in reading the *Muqaddimah*, one may be able to understand that “Ibn Khaldun in rationalising the nature of ‘*Umrān*, did not separate the discussion to one aspect as its determinant, but rather evaluated the role played by mode of living, the division of labour and the role of labour in social relations”.⁴¹³ This may be the reason why some researchers have limited to the economic mode of living in discussing Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umrān*. The discussion has to be extended to other issues related to human social interaction, such as to the religious and political aspects. This complies with the statement made by Prof. Abdullahi Ahsan, who in his interview asserts that:

Ibn Khaldun’s ‘*Umrān* is applicable to all aspects of human life. Not only on economic mode of living, even assuming to limit on division of labour, though, once society is organised there must be division of labour. Therefore, the idea will not limit to that, but rather has to be expanding to understand how something organised and changed.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ Bruc B. Lawrence, Ibn Khaldun, The *Muqaddimah*, 8-9.

⁴¹² Mahmoud Dhaouadi, *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun’s Umrān Mind*, 7.

⁴¹³ Muhammad Mahmud Rabi, *The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun*, 3.

⁴¹⁴ Abdullah Ahsan, interviewed for in-depth information to this study at his office, Department of History and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia, on 25th July, 2016.

With the above quotation, one may be able to understand that Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* helps to understand how society is organised and later changed. It argues that Ibn Khaldun was not the first who used the term *'Umrān*. It was, initially used by Muslim geographers to show how human beings live on earth in different societies. In a wider sense, Ibn Khaldun used the term to denote the real purpose of human existence on earth and the dynamic changes assumed in their lives. Ibn Khaldun believed that the suitability of man's life depends on the presence of his partner.⁴¹⁵ Man alone cannot survive without the existence of another being. Therefore, the organisation of human society is necessary for the accomplishment of man's life. This might be either in religious, social, political and moral aspects of human life. Moreover, without human organisation, the society is haphazard.

Chapter one of the *Muqaddimah* deals with the organisation of human societies and civilisations in general, wherein, Ibn Khaldun explains the necessity of human social organisation and its purpose. In sum, *'Umrān* must be understood through the context of its elements.

3.2.1.1 Organisation (*Ijtimā'*)

To understand the purpose of *Ijtimā' al-Insānī* (the organisation of human society), it is pertinent to note that, Ibn Khaldun declared in the *Muqaddimah* that human social organisation is compulsory, "The theorists or philosophers expressed this fact by saying: 'Man is "political" by nature'. That is he cannot live without social organisation. This is what civilisation (*'Umrān*) means. (The necessary character of human social organisation or civilisation) is explained the fact that God created and fashioned man in a form that can live and subsists only with the help of food. He guided man to a natural

⁴¹⁵ Abdussalam Al-Shadadi (ed), *Muqaddimah Abdurrahman bn Khaldun* (Fifth Edition of the Fifth Volumes) (Iskandariyyah, Egypt: Maktabat al-Iskandariyya, 2005), xxxix

desire for food and implanted in him the power that enables him to obtain it”.⁴¹⁶
Therefore, for the survival of man, organisation is necessary.

Given this understanding, human beings must organise themselves. Man must live together with others for the purpose of his survival, at the same time, to accomplish his desires in matters of worldly life. This is the real meaning of the fact that ‘Man is political by nature’ because he cannot politically enjoy his social relationship without organising himself with others. If he wants to be somebody or establish a company or any institutions, he must initially organise with others before separation of powers, but he alone cannot achieve this task. He must join with others in order to achieve his aims. This is what explicitly Ibn Khaldun means with the purpose of human existence on earth. Because, the more they organise themselves, the more their society develops. The development of their society lies in their organisation. In this regard, a man with his own ability cannot do whatever he wishes unless he organises himself with others. In certain respects, a political party cannot be without the organisation of members of the party. Likewise, a religious leader cannot be a leader without organising himself with others under one umbrella in order to achieve their target. To conclude with the organisation is necessary as the first basic elements of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umran*.

3.2.1.2 Cooperation (*Ta’āwun*)

Even if it is assumed that man organised himself with others to achieve leadership or whatever, nevertheless, human society would not be fully organised in an orderly and respectful manner unless, with the presence of another element, that is cooperation. Similarly, no matter how society is, civilisation would not be possible unless with the cooperation of members of a society. This might prove the statement, which usually reads “no civilisation without society”.

⁴¹⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 45.

To understand the importance of cooperation in any giving society, Ibn Khaldun clarified that:

Man's ability is not enough for him to get what he needs (for the enjoyment of his life), his power alone do not give him all the necessary things to survive, this even probably for one time nourishment per day. He must acquire other supporting elements to make it easy for him such as rubbing and grinding, this for example, if he has wheat. These would not be possible unless with the support of Blacksmith and other tools or utensil. However, Ibn Khaldun cites an example that if it assumes a man might eat un-ready grain, although various processes must be fulfilled before he gets (the grain). Therefore, the fact is that the power of one man cannot afford him to acquire what he wants. Thus, he cannot do without combination of many powers from among his fellow beings, if he is to obtain food for himself and for them. Through cooperation, the needs of a number of persons, many times greater than their own number, can be satisfied.⁴¹⁷

Commenting on the above discussion, Zaid Ahmad illuminates that this concept of cooperation as Ibn Khaldun discussed comprehensively in chapter one of his *Muqaddimah*, wherein "he describes on how the concept operates and at the same time rationalises and relates how thinking factor could be linked to the social process of 'Umrān. Thus, the major findings of rational ability are to get ways of making a living and to establish cooperation... and it should be noted that the 'result of cooperation is the establishment of a society'.⁴¹⁸ This indicates that without cooperation, the establishment of society could not be accomplished.

Zaid Ahmad declared that the concept of cooperation, which is the second component of Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān, should not be understood in a literal sense, which connotes assisting or helping one another, but rather it should be understood in a broader sense to mean many processes that must be followed in the establishment of human society. It may be served in different parts of human social life. In a rational example, it is the main function, which indicates that man in any case cannot survive without food. To get such food he must follow different ways of which

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun*, 22-23

cooperation is the simplest that can guide him to what his goal.⁴¹⁹ In other words, the main purpose of *Ta'āwun* in the human social organisation as Zaid Ahmad noted, is the social relations between members of the society, in the sense that every individual is in need of supports of each other for the accomplishment of their lives.⁴²⁰

From the above, it is understood that Ibn Khaldun elaborates the purpose of human social organisation by citing reference with what man is naturally desired, that is food. His reference to food was nothing but to show the incapability of man to acquire what he needs and survive without cooperation of other human beings and many other factors. At this point, it is of highest importance to bear in mind that even a husband cannot fully enjoy his marital life unless and until gets the cooperation of his wife and other family members. This cannot be disputed when one takes a glance at what is happening today. Even though the concept of Ibn Khaldun here is on analogical deduction, perhaps it is legitimate because cooperation is very important in any social relationship. It might be said that human beings in their social gathering would not progress unless when cooperated towards achieving a particular thing. In this case, if someone wants to be a leader in a society, his success relies on the cooperation that he may receive from members of the society.

3.2.1.3 Defence (*Difā'*)

The preceding discussion shows that human society is necessary but must be organised. The organisation would not be materialised without the existence of mutual co-operations as said. In this regard, the next thing to know is the final foundation of human society that is defence, which shows the function of organised human society to man. This is because, when society is finally established, “it generates the force of its

⁴¹⁹ Ibid..

⁴²⁰ Zaid Ahmad, *Ibn Khaldun and the Greek Philosophy*, P. 24.

own destruction”.⁴²¹ Hence, this element is of great importance to man and for the development of society. Ibn Khaldun elucidated that every human being has an animalistic thinking; therefore, he must be restrained from any acts of aggressiveness. Meanwhile, Ibn Khaldun in the same chapter further elaborates that man has the ability to acquire what he can defend himself from any attacks of his partner; this must be a weapon, and cooperation of his other being. Nonetheless, Ibn Khaldun analogically deduced that animals have more power than human beings. Although, man was gifted with thinking in order to prepare what he defend himself against animals as can be seen.⁴²² However, animals lack thinking despite the fact that they have more power than man. How and where a man can defend himself must be in an organised society. Wherefore, he can get the defence of his being under the authority of his society plus what he prepared for self-defence.

To understand the discussion in detail, Ibn Khaldun explains how people defend each other in an organised human society. Hence, to know the weakness of man in defending himself, Ibn Khaldun says:

Every person, for the purpose of his defence, must seek the assistance of his other beings. When Almighty Allah shaped the structures of His all-living beings, He distributed different powers among them, numerous dumb animals were assigned extra power than assign to man. For example, the strength of a horse is greater than the strength of a man, likewise the strength of an ox or donkey. On the other hand, man's strength is always lower than the strength of an elephant or a lion. Usually, human beings naturally have hostility. Hence, Allah gave to any among them a distinct thing (i.e. a limb) for the defence against hostility. Man, for his defence, instead, He was given the hand and the faculty of reasoning. With the support of man's reasoning, the hand is capable of making the foundations for the skills.⁴²³

Yet, Ibn Khaldun reiterated that:

The strength of one single human being cannot endure the strength of anyone dumb animal, particularly the strength of the destructive animals.

⁴²¹ Anwar Ameen Al-Mudamgha, *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas* (Published PhD Thesis, Michigan: University Microfilms International A Bell & Howell International Company), 193.

⁴²² Ibid., 45-6

⁴²³ Ibid.

Man is usually incapable of defending himself against them. His unassisted strength is not enough to stand as tools of defence. In consequence, It is definitely indispensable for man to get the cooperation of his other men. In the absence of that cooperation, he cannot find any nourishment or food; life in this case cannot be comfortable, as long as there is no such cooperation. Allah structured man in such a way that for him to live he must have to have food. It is not the matter of getting weapons that, he can defend himself. In this regards, the human species would disappear. However, where there is combining cooperation, man gets food for his sustenance and weapons for his defence against his enemies.⁴²⁴

From the foregoing, it is understood that the concept of *‘Umrān* introduced by Ibn Khaldun had a substantial influence in society. Society cannot develop and organise without the emergence of the above-mentioned elements, which in one way or the other are considered the ingredients of the successful organisation of human society and civilisation. This indicates that cooperation is indispensable among members of a society. Similarly, human society is a defence to all members of that society. This can only be achieved when all members of a society give their maximum co-operations towards each other more especially to the one who were appointed to be their leader. This is the reason why cooperation requires consultation, then association and the things that follow it, that is a defence of each other. It should be interesting to note that dealing with other people, when there is oneness of purpose may lead to mutual affection, and when the purpose differs, they may lead to conflict and alteration,⁴²⁵ At all level, the existence of mutual cooperation extinguishes conflict among members of a society and each one can get the support of his partner.

Under the discussion of *‘Umrān*, Ibn Khaldun used to refer to animals to distinguish the level and extent of the faculty of reasoning of human beings, and the bounties that Allah bestowed upon them, in order to be his representatives on earth. This makes man fulfil and enjoy their lives for the success of the next. Commenting on the

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Anwar Ameen Al-Mudamgha, *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas*, 185.

faculty of reasoning that Almighty Allah gave to man, Al-Mudamgha noted that what Ibn Khaldun tries to explain is:

Man develops first his discerning reason or faculty of reasoning which is at the root of what man makes and does, which constitute civilisation. It should be noted that, according to Ibn Khaldun, by discerning reason man understands things ordered, either naturally or conventionally, which exist in the outside world or physical world. Therefore, this kind of reason mostly consists of perceptions. And with the help of this reason, man gets the things that are useful for him and his livelihood and prevents that are harmful to him.⁴²⁶

To conclude with, Ibn Khaldun asserted the actual meaning of the concept of *‘Umrān* and its purpose, wherein, he declared that:

Organisation of human society is indispensable. While in its absent, the survival of human beings would be imperfect; Allah’s intend to leave the world with a human being in order to be His vicegerent on earth would not be accomplished. This is what is all about civilisation (*‘Umrān*), the subject matter of the discussion⁴²⁷.

The above consciously suggested that for human society to be well established, it must be according to the above-mentioned elements; otherwise, it may one day be disintegrated and finally collapse.

3.3 Types of *‘Umrān*: Ibn Khaldun’s Points of Societal Change

Having assumed the society is established, Ibn Khaldun examines two types of societies, in which each has its own distinctive features that distinguish itself from the other. Hence, it was in this discussion that Ibn Khaldun shows how human societies change or transit from one type of lifestyle to another. One thing needs to be understood is that, Ibn Khaldun, in explaining the characteristics of people’s lifestyle in his two types of societies used the economic mode of living as the main criteria for distinguishing between the two societies. It should be noted that changes may occur in all aspects of human life once they assume a new lifestyle.⁴²⁸ The terms for the two types of human societies that Ibn Khaldun used are *‘Umrān Badawī* and *‘Umrān*

⁴²⁶ Ibid, 181.

⁴²⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 45-6..

⁴²⁸ Muhammad Mahmoud Rabi, *The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun*, 33.

Ḥaḍarī, which are usually translated as Bedouin and sedentary societies or civilised and uncivilised societies. The latter contradicts what Ibn Khaldun explains in his *Muqaddimah*.

Nowhere in the *Muqaddimah* does Ibn Khaldun describe societies as civilised or uncivilised leading some scholars suggest that such a classification should be avoided since changes or transitions that normally occur in human societies and civilisation depends on the nature of their lifestyle and what is available to them. In order to understand the lifestyle of people in both *‘Umrān Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī*, Ibn Khaldun begins his discussion in the first section of the second chapter of his *Muqaddimah* with ‘Both *‘Umrān Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī* are natural group’. Whereupon, he outlines the reasons that distinguished the patterns of people life in two types of societies, thus, Ibn Khaldun stated that:

The differences of environments observed among the generations (*ikhtilāf al-ajyāl*) of rural and urban people result from the diverse ways in which they make their living. In sum, social organisation empowers them to cooperate to the end of their life and to start with the simple needs of life, before they get to expediencies and extravagances.⁴²⁹

Ibn Khaldun has originally used the terms *Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī* to show the dualistic types of human societies and how they are living as well as what makes them transit from one lifestyle to another. This is the cornerstone of Ibn Khaldun’s idea of social change.

3.3.1 *‘Umrān Badawī*

The chief concern of this section is to highlight the lifestyle of human social organisation in rural society in order to elaborate the arguments of those who narrowed the term used by Ibn Khaldun.

To understand the salient features of lifestyle of people in rural society, Ibn Khaldun asserts that:

⁴²⁹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 91.

Some people live by farming, their concern is the cultivation of grains and vegetables; others system were by animal husbandry, they were the use of various animals, such as cattle, goats, sheep's, silkworms and bees, for breeding and for their products. Those who live by agriculture or animal husbandry mostly used to settle in the desert, because it alone offers the wide fields, pastures for animals, and other things that the settled areas do not offer. It is, therefore, necessary for them to restrict themselves to the desert. Their social organisation and cooperation for the needs of life and civilisation, such as food, shelter, and warmth, do not take them beyond the bare subsistence level, because of their incapability (to provide) for anything beyond those (things)⁴³⁰.

Similarly, Ibn Khaldun elucidates the patterns of life in rural society in the second section of the same chapter, wherein he said:

As we have mentioned in the previous section that the inhabitants of the desert/rural (*'Umrān Badawī*) adopt the natural manner of making a living namely, agriculture and animal husbandry. They restrict themselves to the necessary in food, clothing, and mode of dwelling, and to other necessary conditions and customs. They do not possess conveniences and luxuries. They use tents of hair and wool, houses of wood, or of clay and stone, which are not furnished (elaborately). The purpose is to have shade and shelter, and nothing beyond that⁴³¹.

From the above discussion, it is pertinent to categorise it into two. In the first category, people in a rural society do not bother with a life of luxury; their concern was only to achieve the necessary things that would make them survive with their animals. That is to say, they do not seek beyond their needs. In the second category, whatever they need, they will cooperate themselves in order to get it, their main target for surviving is food and others. Therefore, their wellbeing is the topmost priority.

According to Ibn Khaldun, societal structure of people in rural society has three distinctive features:

Firstly, among the distinguishing features of those who are living in rural society is their style of living is based on farming and cultivation of grains, Ibn Khaldun says, these types of people have to be static than to travel everywhere. Therefore, these are

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 92.

the people of mountain regions, villages, and small societies. They were those who make up the large population of the Berbers and no-Rural dwellers⁴³².

Secondly, in contrast with the first category, those who are generally going around in order to discover water and grass for their animals are the types of people who make their living from animals wanting pasturage, meanwhile, Ibn Khaldun says, it is better for these people to travel around in the land, and not to be static. Therefore, they are named sheep men, meaning that men who are living in cattle and sheep. According to their customary, they should not necessarily go into the wasteland (desert), this is because it would not convenience to them. For instance, these people most of them include the Turkoman, the Berbers, the Slavs, and the Turks, for example.⁴³³

Thirdly, the societal structures of people in this category are those usually living with their camels while moving around the rocks. Ibn Khaldun declared that:

They are those people who are normally walking deeper into the wasteland, because of their camels. Since the mountainous pastures cannot provide sufficient substance. They must feed on the desert bushes and drink its salted water. These types of people must travel within the desert areas during the wintertime, in flying from the damaging cold to the hot desert air. In the desert soils, camels can discover places to deliver their new one's baby. Generally, camels, among all animals, have the difficulty in giving birth and the extreme need for hotness in connection with it. Therefore, Camel's wanderers are required to make trips deep into desert places. Hence, the rural settlers, however, move deeper trips into the desert, because their life is exclusively on camels. This is in contrast with others who live in sheep's and cattle. He concluded that dwellers of rural areas are natural groups who by necessity living for their development⁴³⁴.

Ibn Khaldun mentions some of the qualities, which distinguished people that are living in rural society from those who are living in urban society. The opposite of rural society or rural civilisation is urban society. Among the qualities are "Bedouins are prior to sedentary people. This indicates that a rural society is the result of urban

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

society. The desert (rural) is the basis and reservoir of civilisations and cities”.⁴³⁵ Also, this signifies that civilisation starts from rural society prior to developing to urban society. Likewise, ‘Bedouins are closer to being good than sedentary (urban) people’.⁴³⁶ Nonetheless, ‘they are more willing to courage than sedentary people’.⁴³⁷ People in a Bedouins society are stronger and are ready at any time to defend themselves.

3.3.2 ‘*Umrān Ḥaḍarī*

To distinguish the patterns of life between *Ḥaḍarī* society and *Badawī* society, Ibn Khaldun defined *Ḥaḍarī* society’, wherein he says:

As the dwellers of towns and states, some of them have adopted skills as their means of livelihood, though others adopt business. They get additional and extra life over and above the inhabitants of Bedouins society, because they live on a level beyond the level of simple requirement. Therefore, their method of living matches to their wealth.⁴³⁸

On the other hand, Ibn Khaldun elucidates that people transit from *Badawī* society to *Ḥaḍarī* society once they get more than what is necessary. In a long quotation, Ibn Khaldun emphasised that:

Following the development of their situations (the inhabitant of Bedouin society) and attainment of additional wealth and ease than they want, cause them to repose and take it easy. Thereafter, they cooperate for things beyond the basic needs. They use extra food and clothes and take pride in them. They build big houses and lay out towns and cities for defence. This followed by an increase in luxury and comfort that leads to the creation of the most advanced extravagance customs. They take the utmost pride in the preparation of food and a well cooking, in the use of varied wonderful clothes of silk and brocade and other fine things... They used to build fortresses and halls, offer them with running water, likewise, build their towers to greater heights, and contest in fitting them (most decoratively). Nevertheless, the inhabitant of *Ḥaḍarī* society, for the enjoyment of their life, they vary in the excellence quality of the beds, the clothes, the pots, and the tools they pay for their purposes.⁴³⁹

It is significant to understand that what transits the life of *Badawī* dwellers to *Ḥaḍarī* dwellers is based on the “surplus they get” or simply on “mode of their

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 93.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 94

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 92.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 91.

production” or “mode of their living” for their survival. It, therefore, becomes obvious that the inhabitants of a Bedouins society and sedentary society are natural groups that exist by necessity.⁴⁴⁰

Moreover, a man in Bedouin society lives in towns and cities. Prior to being a sedentary man, he is a desert dweller who lives in the desert. With improvements in his standard of living and having income more than enough to fulfil his basic requirements, he migrated to towns and cities in search of tranquillity, comforts, and transform into the sedentary life. Ibn Khaldun considers this transformation and migration as natural to man. In fact, it is the goal of a man dwelling in a desert area to become a sedentary man. Ibn Khaldun concludes that urban civilisation is the goal of a rural dwelling life.⁴⁴¹

Having seen the patterns of people lifestyles in both rural and urban societies, Muhammad Mahmoud Rabi argues that:

The means of earning a living plays a vital role in Ibn Khaldun’s classification of *‘Umrān Badawī* and *‘Umrān Ḥaḍarī*. This indicates on the one hand that simple means whether in the desert or on the hills lead to a simple way of life while on the other hand, developed means and skills result in a more luxurious or complicated life. He further argues that, as the existence of *Badawī* people is the basis and the result of *Ḥaḍarī* people prior to their existence in towns and cities. Likewise, extravagance goes with the customs of bare necessities of life... therefore, the degree of the development of people’s life, in any case, follows their way of earning a living. According to Rabi, “Ibn Khaldun was not satisfied with an exoteric comparison between the rural and *Ḥaḍarī* way of living, but he was interested in tracing the effect of the transition from one phase of life to the other on different styles of culture and the characteristics of people.”⁴⁴²

Despite the fact that Rabi’s argument played a vital role in showing Ibn Khaldun’s idea of social change or the transition of human societies, he was among scholars who translated Ibn Khaldun’s *‘Umrān Badawī* as primitive societies and *‘Umrān Ḥaḍarī* as civilised or developed societies. It seems that his statement

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 291.

⁴⁴² Muhammad Mahmoud Rabi, *The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun*, 34.

contradicts his definition since he admitted that Ibn Khaldun's aims with the two types of human societies are to show the effect of transition.

Ibn Khaldun's idea of social change arises based on his classifications of human societies into '*Umrān Badawī*' and '*Umrān Ḥadārī*'. It should bear in mind that it was at this point that some of the founding fathers of Western sociology share the same views with Ibn Khaldun on societal change. Mahmoud Dhaouadi has pointed out that, "Despite the fact that Ibn Khaldun and Western sociologists differ on the evolution of human societies, because Ibn Khaldun found the evolution of Arab-Muslim societies cyclic in nature, while Western sociologists consider human societies' evolution in a linear way. Even though, both of them agree that social change is a necessary feature of human societies which mostly lead societies to undergo changes from simple state to the more complex one: *Badawī* to *Ḥadārī*, rural to urban, traditional to modern, system to super-system, *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, pre-industrial to industrial, mechanic to organic".⁴⁴³ Human society is always subject to changes, it would not remain as its, no matter how it organises, one day it will change to another type, this may be on religious, social, and political or in sum, in every aspect of human life.

Furthermore, Neo-Hegelian "Theory of the evolution of modern society gained currency among American sociologists and provided them with an elaborate justification for the idea that modern society differs in kind from all premodern forms".⁴⁴⁴ This indicates that premodern society initially delivered modern society. This was the same with the theory of German sociologist, Tönnies (1855-1936), who views that "the historical trend of society is from a premodern *Gemeinschaft* type of organisation and operation towards *Gesellschaft* form, which clearly differs from the former in both organisational structure and operational processes".⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, "The Concept of Change in the Thought of Ibn Khaldun, 43-87.

⁴⁴⁴ Richard T. La Pièrre, *A Theory of Social Control* (New York: McGRAW-HILL Book Company, Inc, 1954), 12.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

Tönnies's theory has been interpreted to mean "Modern Western societies have evolved out of Gemeinschaft type origins and are becoming predominantly Gesellschaft in character. Based on this interpretation, it should be clear that the growth of cities, the rise of the modern industrial plant, and the emergence of modern state have all evolved from the first type of society. This theory further indicated that man with this transition has been released from the bond of tradition to the modern life, in which he is free to express what he wishes".⁴⁴⁶ Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975) was among the admirers of Ibn Khaldun, he, emphasised that "the process of birth, growth, stagnation, and disintegration are in social life... which the primitive society is oriented towards the past, and remains static; societies in the process of civilisation, by contrast, are in "vibrant motion along a course of change and development".⁴⁴⁷

All the aforementioned scholars were been grouped under evolutionism or unilinear social change. Others who were in the same group are Auguste Comte (1798-1857) who posited that social change transits from theological, metaphysical, and to positive stages; Karl Max (1818-1883) who also sees social changes from savagery, barbarism, capitalism, and communism or revolution, exploitation, unrest and utopia. On the other hand, Edward Taylor (1642-1729) theorises such changes from animism, polytheism, and monotheism.⁴⁴⁸

To conclude, one may be in a position to recommend that Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Umrān* played a significant role in elucidating the archetypes of social organisation of human societies dwelling in different rural and urban areas. This further implies that Ibn Khaldun does not use his two types of human societies to show the dichotomy that people in rural society are un-civilised and those in urban society are civilised as might

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁴⁷ Robert H. Lauer, *Perspectives on Social Change (Fourth Edition)* (London: Allyn and Bacon, 1991), 40.

⁴⁴⁸ Panos D. Bardis, "Theories of Social Change". *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 20(4), (October-December, 1959) 283-290. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42743523>. Accessed 27th May 2016.

have others misunderstood. Since Ibn Khaldun came before the time of Western scholars and he propounded his social change, it might say that Western Sociologists thought developed in line with what already Ibn Khaldun has introduced for many centuries, even though some of them used with the situation of their own time. Mahmoud Dhaouadi highlights that “what the sociologists theorised with the event of change in human societies is indeed legitimate. This implies that human societies cannot escape changes from time to time. He discovered that change is a life and death force throughout human history, in all societies and civilisations. This proved that changes in human societies may be transforming either from inferior to superior and finally to collapsing. He further asserted that since society is the major concern of sociologist, their investigation of the phenomenon of change is understood as irresistible”.⁴⁴⁹

3.4 *‘Asabiyyah*: A Central Concept of *‘Umrān*

Having seen how *‘Umrān* is established and its characteristics in two ways, now, it is important to know the central factor that at any time actualises such *‘Umrān*, such is the concept of *‘Asabiyyah*. Unanimously, *‘Asabiyyah* is one of the major concepts in the text of Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddimah* or prolegomena. It is a central concept of social organisation of human society and civilisation. Hence, Ibn Khaldun, with his vast experience in various political institutions and his deep studies of different societies of his time, analogically introduced the concept of *Asabiyyah* to highlight the level and strength of human social organisation. The social organisation of human society initially starts from a *Badawī* society before transforming to a *Ḥadarī* society. For a society to live and progress in civilisation there must be a retraining person who can stop people from attacking each other. It is in this situation the idea of *‘Asabiyyah* arises for elucidating *‘Umrān* in an orderly manner.

⁴⁴⁹ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, “The Concept of Change in the Thought of Ibn Khaldun, 45.

Similarly, Allah the most High gives man the ability to think, although, a competent person among members of a society who agreed to exercise his power against any member must monitor such thinking. In order to understand the goal of '*Aṣabiyyah*' to social organisation of human society, it is important to refer to the sixteenth section of chapter two of the *Muqaddimah* wherein, the title reads 'the aim of '*Aṣabiyyah*' is dominion'.

This is because '*Aṣabiyyah*' gives protection and makes possible mutual defence, the pressing of claims, and every other kind of social activity. By dint of their nature, human beings need someone to act as a restraining influence and mediator in every social organisation, in order to keep its members from (fighting) with each other. That person must, by necessity have superiority over others in the matter of group feeling. If not, his power cannot be effective. Such superiority is royal authority. It is more than leadership. Leadership means being a chieftain, and the leader is obeyed, but he has no power to force others to accept his rulings. Royal authority means superiority and the power to rule by force⁴⁵⁰

Ibn Khaldun emphasised that leadership exists only through superiority, and superiority only through '*Aṣabiyyah*'. Leadership over people must derive from '*Aṣabiyyah*' that is superior to each individual group. Each group that becomes aware of the superiority of the '*Aṣabiyyah*' of the leader is ready to obey and follow him.⁴⁵¹ According to Ibn Khaldun, "man has two natural tendencies, namely, the tendency of organisation or association, and the tendency of aggression. The former leads to the rise of society for the survival of his life and accomplishment of his desires, the latter to the state as a mean of social control to curb human tendency of aggression and injustice".⁴⁵² However, society and state are unclear issue in the text of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*; hence, Al-Mudangha noted "Ibn Khaldun does not make a sharp distinction between society and state. Both are interrelated and interdependent. Thus, society, civilisation or culture, and the state cannot be separated, in reality from each other".⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, 108.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, 101.

⁴⁵² Anwar Ameen Al-Mudangha, *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas*, 218.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 219.

From the foregoing, it is clear that Ibn Khaldun's *ʿAṣabiyyah* may be in political and religious organisations. *ʿAṣabiyyah* is the prime source of its establishment. To sum, *Umrān* would not be organised without *ʿAṣabiyyah*. The goal of *ʿAṣabiyyah* is society or state formation. Once society is organised and established, *ʿAṣabiyyah* will be either strengthen or weaken it, but it becomes stronger when it is supported by various elements such as religion. Despite the establishment of society, the emergence of someone to exercise restraining influence is necessary. Accordingly, to maintain the society without any act of aggression or oppression, someone among members of the society must have restraining influence with strong *ʿAṣabiyyah*.

3.4.1 The Role of *ʿAṣabiyyah* in *ʿUmrān Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī*

The primary concern of this section is to determine the strength and power of *ʿAṣabiyyah* in *ʿUmrān Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī*. This is to understand that as social organisation of human society is necessary, there must be someone, who exercises a restraining power over members of the society. Moreover, aggression is a natural human nature. Hence, Ibn Khaldun referred with the Qurʾānic verse where Allah is saying, “We led him along the two paths”.⁴⁵⁴ Again, He says, “And inspired the soul with wickedness as well as fear of God”.⁴⁵⁵

Ibn Khaldun observed “that evil is the quality that is closest to man when he fails to improve his behaviour and when religion is not used as the model to improve his life. This results that most of the humankind is in that condition, with the exception of those to whom Allah gives success. However, evil qualities in a man are injustice and mutual aggression. Therefore, he who casts his eye upon the property of his brother will lay his hand on it to take it, unless there is restraining influence to hold him back. The poet thus

⁴⁵⁴ Qurʾan, *Surah al-Balad*, 90:10

⁴⁵⁵ Qurʾan, *Surah al-Shams*, 91:8

says injustice is a human trait. If you find a moral man, there is the reason why he is not unjust".⁴⁵⁶

To begin with, the role of restraining influence among people in rural society, Ibn Khaldun asserted that preventing power among the rural tribes comes from their scholars and elders. This happens because of great respect and reverence they (i.e. leaders or rulers) usually get among individuals in the society. This indicates the extent of people '*Aṣabiyyah* in rural society. Ancestral soldiers composed of noble youths of the community who are known for their bravery and courage safeguard the rural dwellers against outside enemies. Their protection and defence are successful or fruitful only if they are closely tight on common interest. This supports their strengths and makes them not afraid, since everybody's friendliness for his group and his family is great significant (than everything else). Sympathy and compassion for one's blood-ties and families exist in human nature as something Allah places into the hearts of men. It makes for mutual sustenance and assistance, and upsurges the anxiety touched by the opponent.⁴⁵⁷ When youth in rural society have different interests, their consolidation may cause mischief in a society since Ibn Khaldun declared that their fruitful defence lies on their mutual understanding to safeguard the community.⁴⁵⁸ This indicates that on the contrary they will be mischief-makers and lead the destructions of life in the society.

Commenting the above, Aziz Azmeh emphasised that "Ibn Khaldun assumes that each group will naturally be aggressive towards other groups, just as individuals will behave aggressively towards each other. While cities are protected by walls against external aggression and by the high hand of the sovereign against internal strife, the elders guarantee internal peace in a Bedouin setting. External defence is assured by '*Aṣabiyyah* used here to designate a group and as a homologue to an association of

⁴⁵⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 97.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 97-98.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

common kin and as a synonymous of *'usba*. Common kinship, of course, can never be ascertained and is always at the mercy of a great number of distortions (a relative exception is the more isolated Arabs and like peoples) which Ibn Khaldun explores with some detail and with reference to various peoples of the Maghreb".⁴⁵⁹

Erwin Rosenthal has also highlighted that "Man because of his evil feeling would definitely take him to destroying others when he realised that no one to stop him or restrain him from doing what he severely desired to do. Thus, the preventing power must become through *'Aṣabiyyah*. Actually, this preventing authority is called *Wāzi* 'or *Wāzi' wal Ḥākim* (governor, ruler, leader), or *ḥukm wāzi*'; it has the power to prevent men from killing or injuring each other, 'for hostility and violence are dominant in their animal nature'.⁴⁶⁰

Ibn Khaldun emphasised that "mutual violence of people in cities and towns is prevented by the government. They restrain people with their full control from aggression and attacking one another. They are those banned people through the power of force and managerial authority from mutual injustice, but that injustice as comes from the leader or ruler himself. Similarly, Ibn Khaldun added that hostility from outside a town or cities may be prevented by walls, in the occasion of unpreparedness or an unexpected attack at night, or with incapability (of the dwellers) to ensure the enemy during the day. It may be added that such attacks would be prevented with the help of government troops, if (the dwellers are) ready and prepared to offer confrontation".⁴⁶¹ Thus, the discussion indicates that people in *Ḥaḍarī* society rely more on the government to protect their lives suggesting they lack the courage to protect themselves.

In addition to the foregoing discussion Syed Omar bin Syed Agil explicitly explains the different *'Aṣabiyyah* of man in rural and urban societies. He has this to say:

⁴⁵⁹ Aziz Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun: An Essay in Reinterpretation* (New York, London: Routledge, 1982), 71-72.

⁴⁶⁰ Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958), 87.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

Bedouin man has a strong '*Aṣabiyyah* and deserts toughness that enables him to work within his tribe to not only strive for sustenance but also for defence and engage in battles to gain victory. However, the '*Aṣabiyyah* of a man in urban society is gradually disappearing as an outcome of the actions of the ruling elites to monopolise power and not wanting to share the glory with others having the same '*Aṣabiyyah* before they overcome the previous ruling dynasty. The urban man adopts the quality of docility and meekness⁴⁶².

To know the distinguishing features of people in rural and urban societies, Agil comments that “since luxury distinguishing features of the *Ḥaḍarī* culture, Bedouins (dwellers in rural society) are courageous than the urban man. Ibn Khaldun argues that this is so because luxury in the life of the *Ḥaḍarī* man made him accustom to ease and laziness and entrusts the ruler with the responsibility of defence. On the other hand, the Bedouin man is imbued with the character of self-reliance and provided his own defence mechanism without relying on others. Therefore he has the quality of fortitude”.⁴⁶³

The findings further reveal that restraining influence or authority is necessary for any giving society since aggression is the natural nature of man. Therefore, it is obvious that '*Aṣabiyyah* is the only force that results in restraining authority. This is because a common descent of people in society will bind them together to agree with someone who can exercise his power to prevent others from killing or attacking his partner. As such, '*Aṣabiyyah* is of great importance but if it is not rooted in arrogance as seen above. In addition, '*Aṣabiyyah* of man in rural society is stronger than the one in urban society, because restraining authority of people in rural society comes from their *Shaykhs* and elders among them, just because of the respect and high veneration they receive from people. This indicates that where there are any conflicts in a society the elders have the power to ensure peace since people is respecting them. Similarly, elders in rural society serve as judges for any adjudication. Conversely, people in urban

⁴⁶² Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economic*, 136.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 137.

society solely rely on government for their defence which in one way or the other their *‘Aṣabiyah* will disappear because of government domination. In addition, a man in rural society has self-reliance and the means to defend himself, but not in the case of a man who is in urban society.

3.4.2 The Necessity of *‘Aṣabiyyah* in Religious Calling (*Da‘wah*)

Man must cooperate with others to accomplish his life goals. Thus, Ibn Khaldun explained the necessity of *‘Aṣabiyyah* (group feeling) to all human beings including the Prophets in the sixth section of chapter three of the *Muqaddimah*. The title of the section reads ‘Religious calling cannot materialise without *Asabiyyah*’, “the reason why is that every group by necessity needs *‘Aṣabiyyah*. This accords the Prophet’s saying: Allah sent no Prophet who did not enjoy the protection of his people. If this was the case with the Prophets who are human beings and most likely to perform wonders, one would (expect it to apply) all more so to others; one cannot expect them to be able to work the wonder of achieving superiority without *‘Aṣabiyyah*.⁴⁶⁴

For the people and scholars who wanted to change blameworthy practices in their society, Ibn Khaldun reiterated that the above-mentioned chapter is mainly for such cases. He, however, asserted “various religious scholars follow the principles of religion arise to revolt against oppressed leaders. They declare for a revolution in, and eradication of sinful acts. Their intention is to be divinely rewarded on their activities. Accordingly, they get many supporters and adherents among the great population of the people, despite that they feel the risk of being destroyed, and most of them consequently do die of what they are doing as sinners, and not be rewarded. This is because Allah had not designed them to undertake such activities.⁴⁶⁵ Allah instructs such actions to be only established where there is the power to carry them to a fruitful decision or conclusion.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

Prophet (PBUH) said, “If anyone of you sees sinful activities, let him change them through his hand. If he cannot do that, he should alter them through his tongue. And if he cannot do that, he should dislike them by his heart, and this is the weakest of faith”.⁴⁶⁶ Moreover, Leaders and empires are strongly rooted on that. Only a strong group, which supported by the ‘*Aṣabiyyah* of clan and relative can remove and demolish their grounds or foundations. Nevertheless, once the leaders and empire have more strong groups who shared common goals, no any groups can demolish and remove them from their leadership. This signifies the necessity of group solidarity in any religious calling for the reformation of social evils. Similarly, the Messengers of Allah in publicising their religious message relied on assemblies, groups, and relations, although they were the ones who might have been reinforced by Allah with whatsoever being if He had desired, but in His knowledge He allowed matters to take their normal course”.⁴⁶⁷

This shows that organisation of human society with a common interest would not be achieved without strong ‘*Aṣabiyyah*. The success prophets achieved through ‘*Aṣabiyyah* was nothing but to show it a necessity to any human beings who wanted to undertake a religious change in his society. This further indicates that mutual understanding among members of a society is a key mechanism of success.

For undertaking religious change, ‘*Aṣabiyyah* of tribes and relations is of paramount importance for someone to be successful. Ibn Khaldun vindicated that whoever is religiously, attempted to religious change. In this case, his separation from tribes and relatives would debar him from getting their support and at the end would destroy. If anyone simply decides to undertake religious change, but his intention is to gain leadership or of a particular office, he, however, warrants to be troubled by problems and become victim to condemnation. Finally, Islamic reforms are a divine

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

matter achieved only with Allah's desire and support, by genuine dedication to Him and in view of good purposes towards the Muslims.⁴⁶⁸

Moreover, that the existence of *'Aṣabiyyah* is compulsory in the Muslim community, because, it enables (the community) to fulfil what Allah expects of it. In a clear quotation, Ibn Khaldun narrated that:

Prophet Muhammad criticised *'Aṣabiyyah* and urged Muslims to reject it and to leave it alone. He said 'Allah removed from you the pride or feeling the superiority of pre-Islamic times and being pride in ancestry. You are the children of Adam, and Adam was made of dust'. Allah said 'Most noble among you in Allah's eyes is he who fears Allah most'.⁴⁶⁹ He, however, added that Prophet Muhammad criticised royal authority and its representatives. He censured them because of their enjoyment of good fortune, their senseless and their deviations from the path of Allah. He enjoyed a friendship among all Muslims and warned against discord and dissension.⁴⁷⁰

Commenting on the above point, Syed Omar Bin Syed Agil elucidated the contents of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* particularly on the topic of man and group feeling (*'Aṣabiyyah*), in his book 'Religion, Human Nature and Economics'. In explaining the above-mentioned views of Ibn Khaldun on the necessity of *'Aṣabiyyah* in the Muslim community, Syed Agil clearly explains how Ibn Khaldun categories *'Aṣabiyyah* into two groups. According to him, "the first category is based on its legality from the religious perspective and the other according to the strength of *Asabiyyah* and the power to dominate and control others. As for the first type, Ibn Khaldun justifies the permissibility of *'Aṣabiyyah* as a means to establish the religious truth and divine commandments and to safeguard the public interest. As such is compulsory for *'Aṣabiyyah* to exist in the Muslim community. Without it, religion and religious laws will eventually disappear".⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Qur'an, *Surah al-Hujrat*, 49:13; Ibid., 160.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*, 147.

On the other hand, for the prohibited type of *‘Aṣabiyyah*, Ibn Khaldun says that Islam rejects the kind of *‘Aṣabiyyah*, which is similar to the one prevalent during the pre-Islamic period, which protects injustice or makes man arrogant or for the gratification of human desires and wasteful activities. Similar to his position on royal authority, he further elucidates that when the Islamic law criticises *‘Aṣabiyyah* and says: ‘Neither your relatives nor your children will benefit you on the Day of Resurrection (against Allah),⁴⁷² that statement referred to *‘Aṣabiyyah* that is used for valueless determinations or rather for worldly gaining, as happened in *Jāhiliyyah* period. More so, *‘Aṣabiyyah* is also criticised when it makes an individual to be proud of being superior.⁴⁷³ By extension, *‘Aṣabiyyah* is prohibited when it aims for the confiscation of others property or for any kind of injustice.

Considering the above, it is clear that the discussion played a significant role in describing the *‘Aṣabiyyah* that is rooted in religious purpose. This is because for the progress of Islamic civilisation and for the protection of Muslim community as well as for the words of Almighty Allah to prevail on earth. This is the legal type of group, *‘Aṣabiyyah* that allowed in Islam as seen in the case of Prophets; and by extension to those who have similar purposes with them, for example Islamic reformers. On the other hand, any kind of *‘Aṣabiyyah* that is vested in worldly purpose and for gaining superiority and proud in ancestries is illegal, thus, it becomes clear that Islam forbids such kinds of *‘Aṣabiyyah*. This results in arrogance, pride, envy and many other acts of spiritual diseases that Islam totally condemns. Whoever uses religion to win any political position, which since his intention is not for the progress of religion and salvation of Muslim community will never succeed, and his *‘Aṣabiyyah*, at the end be disintegrated because of its dirty nature.

⁴⁷² Qur’an, *Surah al-Mumtahanah*, 60:3

⁴⁷³ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 161.

3.4.3 The Need of Political Leadership in the Organisation of Human Society

Having seen the role of restraining authority in both *Badawī* and *Ḥaḍarī* societies, and the necessity of ‘*Aṣabiyyah* in religious calling for changing social vices in the society, it is of paramount importance to understand the types of leadership in the organisation of human society and their significance. Therefore, as frequently said that, due to the aggressive nature of man human society needs someone to be a leader in order to prevent people from attacking each other in the society. Thus, assuming that man as a leader has the ability to exercise his power in the society, his leadership, must either base on religious laws or rational politics. Ibn Khaldun deals with such types of leadership in section fifty of chapter three of the *Muqaddimah* on the topic entitled “human society requires political leadership for its organisation”.

3.4.3.1 *Siyāsah Dīniyyah*

This type of leadership is based on the divinely revealed law, the *Sharī‘a*, which is the ideal Islamic theocracy. In the organisation of human society, the presence of someone among them who can exercise absolute preventing power is undeniably necessary. Thus, the ruler or leader, in this case, his ruling is usually based on a divine reveal law. People in the society are obliged to submit to the law in the view of their belief in reward and punishment in the next world; this is when the person who brought the law to them explains his mission according to the revealed law⁴⁷⁴. Hence, “obedience to ruler in this case is obligatory based on divine reward and punishment”.⁴⁷⁵

Additionally, leadership based on religion (*siyāsah dīniyyah*), is the rule that governs all people in accordance with the provisions of both religious and worldly matters. The example of this rule as stated by Ibn Khaldun is the one according to the Islamic *Sharī‘a*. The head of state called the Caliph, *Imām*, or sultan, because they have

⁴⁷⁴ Bruce B. Lawrence, Introduction to, Ibn Khaldun, The *Muqaddimah*, 256-7; Also see Erwin J. Rosenthal, “Under the theory of the Power-State: Ibn Khaldun’s Study of Civilisation,” 86.

⁴⁷⁵ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*, 158.

to act as a substitute for a Prophet in preserving religious and worldly prosperity of their peoples. Caliph as the state leader, like *Imām* in prayers, must follow by the people as a congregation.⁴⁷⁶ In this case, he must always maintain his leadership according to the dictates of Shari‘a.

According to Wahhabuddin Raees, “Ibn Khaldun uses the term ‘regime of law’ or ‘religious regime’ (*siyāsah shar‘iyyah/siyāsah dīniyyah*) to describes the types of governments and state institutions that may rule civilised society. Worded differently, a state is civilised if its institutions reflect and aim to attain the objectives provided by the divine design for mankind and likewise a society”.⁴⁷⁷

In demonstrating the role of religion, Ibn Khaldun analogically deduced an example with the Arab dynasty, whereupon, he declared that ‘religion paved their leadership with the religious law and its ordinances, which, explicitly and implicitly, are concerned each other. In consequence, the sovereignty and administration of the Arabs became boundless and solid.’⁴⁷⁸ This implies that once a state or society base its rule in line with the dictate of Shari‘a, in the view of Ibn Khaldun, will live long and maintain its power.

In stressing the role political leadership in human society, Ibn Khaldun elucidated that the Arabs stayed cut off from the Kingdom for generations. This happened because they have abandoned their religion and they failed to rule according to the religious laws. Thus, they forgot political leadership and resumed to their desert life. Later, they became ignorant of the link of their ‘*Aṣabiyyah* with the people of sovereign class, because subservience and legitimate leadership had become new to them. They return as primitive as they were before. The nickname ‘royal’ was no more applicable to them; this is only when it applies to those Arabs who became caliphs by

⁴⁷⁶ Chamin Thoha, “The Principles of Ibn Khaldun’s Thought in the Muqaddimah” retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/3301816/Ibn_Khaldun_Thoughts. Accessed on 24 January 2016.

⁴⁷⁷ Wahabuddin Ra‘ees, “Aṣabiyyah, Religion and Regime Types: Rereading Ibn Khaldun” *Intellectual Discourse*, 2004 VOL 12, No 2, 31 of 159-180.

⁴⁷⁸ Bruce B. Lawrence, *Introduction to Ibn Khaldun’s The Muqaddimah*, 121-122.

race. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Arabs soon after the disappearance of the Caliphate all government power moves out of their control (hand). Similarly, their power was taken over by non-Arabs. Nonetheless, they stayed as inhabitants of the desert, ignorant of sovereignty and political leadership. Ibn Khaldun, however, criticised the Arabs by saying they never realised that in the past, they possessed political leadership, or that no state had ever used such (far-reaching) royal authority or sovereignty as had their tribe.⁴⁷⁹

In the light of the aforementioned discussion, it is important to look at Ibn Khaldun's criticisms on the Arabs Muslim societies, despite the fact that he was claiming to be of Arab origin. Hence, Muhammad Abdullahi Enan has clearly refuted that, "although, Ibn Khaldun in his campaign presents many proofs and makes right observations, yet his judgement on the Arabs is exaggerated and many of his opinions lack evidence".⁴⁸⁰

3.4.3.2 *Siyāsah 'Aqaliyyah*

The rule of the lawgiver or the ruler in this type of leadership is based upon rational politics. "People are obliged to submit to it (the laws that he brought to them) in view of the reward they expect from the ruler after he has become acquainted with what is good for them. Ibn Khaldun says this type of rule is useful in this world only. Conversely, Ibn Khaldun emphasised that we do not mean the rule which is known as "political Utopianism" ... this types of politics are not the one that members of a social organisation are led to adopt through laws of common interest. Ibn Khaldun concludes that the "ideal city" (of the philosophers) is rare and remote. They discuss it as a hypothesis. Therefore, the rational politics that is talking about is very different from this type of politics. He, however, divided the rational politics into two: firstly, it is the

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ For full details about this discussion, see Muhammad Enan, *Ibn Khaldun Life and Work*, 86.

type of rational politics, which concern itself with the interest of people in general, and with the ruler's interest in connection with the government of his Kingdom, in particular. This was the politics of the Persians. It is something related to philosophy. Allah has made this type of politics an extra for men in Islam during the time of the Caliphate. The spiritual laws take its place in connection with both general and special interest".⁴⁸¹

Secondly, it is the type of rational politics, which established on the distinctive interest of the leader and how he can maintain his leadership through the influential use of power. Therefore, the general interest of the people here is secondary. According to Ibn Khaldun, this is the type of policy accomplished by all rulers and kings, whether they are Muslims or unbelievers. Nevertheless, Muslim rulers, however, used this type of politics in accordance with the requirements of the Muslim constitutions, as much as they can. In this regard, the political norms here are a combination of spiritual laws and ethical rules, customs that are natural in human social organisation together with a certain necessary concern for the strength of *'Aşabiyyah*. An example to be followed in the practice of this type of leadership is the religious law, which concerned with both the general interest of the people and specific interest of the ruler.⁴⁸² "It is in this case that Ibn Khaldun distinguishes between royal authority and the Caliphate"⁴⁸³ since the latter can maintain with the religious law while the former used forceful power for personal interest by destroying the public interest.

To understand the function of political leader, who considered as a lawgiver or Caliph concerned with both the general and particular interest of people, Ibn Khaldun argues that, "For someone to be Caliph, it certainly means acting as a representative for the Lawgiver (Muhammad), with regard to the protection of the religion and the

⁴⁸¹ Franz Rosenthal, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 256-7; And Erwin J. Rosenthal, 86.

⁴⁸² Ibid., 257.

⁴⁸³ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economy*, 153.

administration of the world. The Lawgiver worried with both things, with religion in his capacity as the person commanded to transmit the duties enforced by the spiritual laws to the people and to encourage them to act in accordance with them, and with governmental administration in his ability as the person in authority of the general interests of human development”.⁴⁸⁴

Taken the above, Ibn Khaldun has pointed out the areas of concern to any Caliph or political leader by extension to Islamic reformer. In making this clear, he has this to say “the greatest and most complete written explanation of this subject is the letter of Tahir b. al-Husayn, al-Ma‘mūn’s general, to his son ‘Abdallah b. Tahir when (al-Ma‘mūn) chosen him governor of al-Raqqah, Egypt, and the surrounding lands. On that time, his father Tahir wrote him the celebrated letter. In it, he urged him and gave him his advice regarding all spiritual and moral matters. (He discussed) all (significant) political issues as touched by the religious law and all problems of power politics that he would have to know in his administration. He advised him to struggle for virtue and good qualities, in a manner so model that no ruler or commoner can do without (these appeals). The text of the letter was copied from Imām al-Ṭabari’s monographs”.⁴⁸⁵

3.5 Conclusion

Under this chapter, the whole discussion depicts that Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* played a vital role in providing the detailed procedures on how human society whether in a rural or urban area is organised. It is in this sense that one cannot be disputed that Ibn Khaldun is a sociologist, economist and political scientist. The evidence of this fact is quite clear when one goes through the aforementioned discussions. Perhaps, the realisation and introduction of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* was vast due to the physical experiences of his different societies of his time and because of his vast Islamic

⁴⁸⁴ Franz Rosenthal, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 290.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 388. For more details about this letter, see the same page.

scholarship. Although Ibn Khaldun's *ʿUmrān* is of great importance for the successful organisation and transformation of human societies, there are still many challenges. This is because of those in contemporary Muslim societies who wanted to change and organise their society to an Islamic government. They ignored the works of classical scholars like Ibn Khaldun, despite the fact that Ibn Khaldun has some sentimental issues on the Arabs societies and their civilisations as noted earlier. The reason for the utilisation of his concept of *ʿUmrān* is not only as the model of successful organisation of human society but also in a comprehensive way outlines the necessary key points to Islamic reformers in changing traditional society to an organised Islamic society. It is clear that Islamic revolution in any giving society cannot materialise without the massive support and cooperation of members of a society, and this can only be achieved through the presence of *ʿAṣabiyyah* as elucidated above. Hence, Ibn Khaldun's *Umrān* would not be fully active without the existence of *ʿAṣabiyyah*.

Moreover, human society whether a religious or political is not fully organised unless with the fulfilment of *Ijtimāʿ*, *Taʿāwun* and *Difāʿ*. To understand this, the presence of human organisation is compulsory, although it could not be achieved unless there is cooperation, similarly, to be fully cooperated; it is purpose must be displayed. Hence, defending members of a society through providing shelter, protection, and security to them, must be its utmost priorities. This illustration is of great importance to be applicable in any social or Islamic organisation. In this case, Ibn Khaldun has indeed left behind a good legacy for the survival of any society.

Research of this nature might be important because of its significant in tackling the causes of disorganisation of human society due to lack of common goals; and by extension for solving the cases of religious reforms in Muslim societies. Despite the long life of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *ʿUmrān*, it must be reviewed at any time, due to its relevance to the present time. It is finally understood that state based on religious law

is the best type of state or society that is useful to man in this life and the next to come. This is the reason why whoever has sincere intention of ruling people based on religious guidance for the salvation of their lives will definitely get Allah's assistance in one hand and people support on the other. Contrary to that, using religion for worldly gaining or leadership may perhaps lead one to a lack of support from people because of his bad intention and selfish desires.

University of Malaya

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF UTHMAN BIN FODUYE'S CONTRIBUTION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IBN KHALDUN'S CONCEPT OF 'UMRAN

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings discovered and presented in chapter 2 & 3 are analysed further in order to fulfil the research objectives and answer the questions. Initially, the chapter examines the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society. From the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān*, the chapter further used it as a model and analyses Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in its evolutionary and revolutionary periods. In doing so, the chapter explores the role of *'Umrān* in relations to the interplay of *'Aṣabiyyah* and religion in the successful contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society into an organised Islamic society. Similarly, the chapter further traced out the role of *'Aṣabiyyah* and religion in the success of Uthman bin Foduye in overthrowing the Kingdom of Hausaland and establishing his Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate. Moreover, in order to show the universal relevance of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* to the past and modern societies, the chapter reveals its relevance in the present Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto.

4.2 The Relevance of Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān in the Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye

In view of the previous discussion, it is of the highest importance to examine the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society, before going to discuss Uthman's contribution from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān*. As such, this study discovered that Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* is an important concept, which provides detail guidelines on how human society is organised and transformed from one phase to another. Hence, in order to understand the importance of the guidelines, it is crucially important to note

that as per as Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* is concerned, man alone cannot achieve whatever he wants unless organise himself with others. In view of this, the human social organisation is necessary.⁴⁸⁶ Hence, the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye's contribution here is obvious

. In view of the above, it may emphasise that due to the nature of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution to societal challenges, many things would be relevant to Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* because of its clear relations to the society of yesterday, today and of tomorrow. To substantiate this assertion, Okene and Shukri declared that Ibn Khaldun's *'Umrān* is indeed universal and can be applied to the past society and indeed to the modern time.⁴⁸⁷ Uthman's society is an example of a past society.

It might be assumed that this is the reason why Uthman bin Foduye in preparing the ground for his societal change, he first organised himself with the members of his family. Thereafter, he started manifesting his mission of changing the society to other people who are outside of his family, because, at that time he was in need of their support towards accomplishing his mission. This shows the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's organisation of human society as the first factor of Uthman's success in changing the Nigerian society. For example, Ibn Khaldun declared that due to the political nature and incapability of man to do what he plans, "he alone cannot live by himself, and his existence can materialise only in association with his fellow men".⁴⁸⁸ Although, politically, Uthman bin Foduye does not show that he wants to be a political leader, nevertheless, he wanted to change the society. In this case, his organisation with others is necessary, otherwise, it could be said that he cannot achieve what he wanted to do.

Furthermore, it becomes clear that Uthman bin Foduye initially has one of the first elements that help him to change the society, that is organisation or association

⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 45.

⁴⁸⁷ Ahmed Adam Okene and Shukri B. Ahmad, "Ibn Khaldun, Cyclical Theory and the Rise and Fall of Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria, West Africa", 180.

⁴⁸⁸ IbnKhadun, *TheMuqaddiah*, in AMudangha, *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas*, 184.

(*ijtimāʿ*) with others as Ibn Khaldun clearly elucidated. Ibn Khaldun asserted that despite the fact that man organises with other human beings to achieve his target, he cannot succeed unless with the existence of another factor that is cooperation (*taʿāwun*). Because, Ibn Khaldun has pointed out that with cooperation, man can easily get all his needs.⁴⁸⁹ In addition, cooperation results in the successful establishment of human society.⁴⁹⁰ It is mentioned earlier that Uthman bin Foduye got the cooperation of the people of Hausaland due to his excellent character and his huge knowledge of mystical narration; at the same time because of the nobility of his family who has been excelled in Islamic scholarship.⁴⁹¹

To conclude with the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society, one cannot disputed that the picture of Ibn Khaldun's '*Umrān*' might say to have appeared in the evolutionary phase of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution. This implies that Uthman gradually organised his community to support the development of his mission. It also indicates that by whatever means for man to achieve something that needs human power, he must whether like it or not organise himself with those who can support him to succeed.

Ibn Khaldun's '*Umrān*' should not be limited to the modern time only, but rather be applied to the past societies to see how some important personalities have played their substantial roles in their respective societies; hence, this is the significant role of '*Umrān*' that explains how and why somethings occurs and changes.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 45.

⁴⁹⁰ Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun*, 22-23.

⁴⁹¹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah*, 1.

4.3 The Role of 'Umrān in Uthman bin Foduye's Contribution in Changing Society

The chief concern of this section is to highlight the outcomes or rather the findings that have been discovered in the discussion of Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān in the second and third chapter of his *Muqaddimah*, as clearly elaborated in Chapter Three (3) of the present study. The findings show that Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān must be understood in line with the chapters, which finally indicates that 'Umrān' must be understood through the context of 'Aṣabiyyah. The outcomes of this study reveal that the presence of 'Aṣabiyyah in 'Umrān is indispensable; this is from the initial stage to the final stage of its organisation and transformation.

The findings of this study have further revealed that Uthman's contribution initially made in a *Badāwa* society, that is to say, in a rural society. This resembled Ibn Khaldun's first type of human society as elucidated in the third chapter of this study. Uthman bin Foduye started calling people to change the un-Islamic system of their lives in the village of Degel,⁴⁹² which subsequently became the centre of his missionary activities. From here, it may be understood that Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing society was evolutionary based on teachings and preaching as well as writing.

Murray Last argues that Degel (the centre of Uthman bin Foduye's *Da'wah*) situated on the main valley southwest of the capital of Gobir (the main city of Hausa Kingdom). Thus, many of Uthman relatives and friends, as well as students, were in that area.⁴⁹³ More so, as noted that Uthman was a Fulani of Toronkawa⁴⁹⁴. Nevertheless, they were famous as Islamic scholars throughout West Africa (*Bilād al-Sūdān*).⁴⁹⁵ Last asserted that most of the Fulāni scholars like Uthman bin Foduye at Degel, lived outside

⁴⁹² Now, Degel is a town with a very small population in the of Sokoto, Nigeria. retrieved on 23 october, 2016, from <http://www.gomapper.com/travel/where-is/degel-located.html>.

⁴⁹³ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, 23.

⁴⁹⁴ Toronkawa is a cousin's of Fulani, claiming more Arabs blood. Today, Toronkawa tends to be synonymous with with Uthman bin foduye's family. Toronkawa was originally from Futa toro in present day, Senegal. See Murray last, ixiii.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddiah*, Ixxiii.

the towns in a permanent camp or small village.⁴⁹⁶ Hence, migration from one place to another is the natural habit of the Fulani. This might be the reason why Uthman and his relatives choose to stay outside the capital of Gobir.

Ibn Khaldun did not use the term *Umrān* to show civilised and uncivilised people, but rather he used it to show the structure of people's life in both *Badawī* and *Haḍārī* societies. In understanding this argument, Abdul Magid Al-Araki has the opinion that the structures of people life in rural society vary according to their closeness from the main centre or city, as clearly seen before. Conversely, to those who limit the term *Badawī* to the life of uncivilised people, in order to avoid such misinterpretation, Al-Araki declared that:

People life in the rural area was always in accordance with the conditions and geographical location of where they are living. Therefore, whatever they do is based on what is available to them. In his opinion, the term *Badawī* which Ibn Khaldun used in describing different societies is supposed to be translated as rural societies and civilisations, but not to the narrowed terms "Desert civilisation or Bedouin" like the way Rosenthal translated. Therefore, rural civilisation signifies the rural society in its broadest sense and with all its societal groups. This is the system of human social organisation, which develops at the external centre of the city and at far distances from it⁴⁹⁷.

The findings have further revealed that according to Ibn Khaldun, among the distinguishing qualities of the dwellers of rural area are they are the origin of urban of society,⁴⁹⁸ meaning that urban society, in reality, originated from them. In addition, they are the basis of civilisations and cities.⁴⁹⁹ Their most significant character is they are so closer to righteousness than people are in urban society.⁵⁰⁰ Similarly, they are ready to accept the new religion. In addition, they are courageous, strong and bravery and they have the habits of self-reliance as well as self-defence.⁵⁰¹ Based on Uthman's systematic

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., Ixxix.

⁴⁹⁷ Abdel Magid Al-Araki. "From Ibn Khaldun: Discourse of the Concepts of Economic Sociology," (Electronic Version) Disseminate freely with this header intact, 1983, 146-241.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, P. 93.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

approaches in teaching and preaching, through touring to the East and West of Hausaland, it has been pointed out that, “By the year 1793, which marked the end of his preaching tour, and his subsequent settlement in his hometown or in his Centre of learning, Degel. Uthman used that opportunity to transcribe the *Ihyā’ al-Sunnah wa Ikhmād al-Bid‘ah*, partly as a textbook for the use of his “Preaching” that had been left behind in charge of his supporters in the towns and cities where he had previously preached, and partly for the general information of the public.⁵⁰² After about eighteen years of preaching, the greater part of his own tribe (the Fulāni) remained outside his community, dissatisfied with the situation, whereupon, his brother wrote to them in verse advising them to help the cause of Allah to prevail the land. As soon as they received ‘Abdullah’s poem, they responded positively and started to preach in support of ‘Uthman. Much more people joined his fold thereby, and the community grew further in fame both in and out of Hausaland”.⁵⁰³

Moreover, Johnstone attempted to strike a balance between the three conflicting views of the causes and motives of the Uthman’s community by concluding that, “More importantly were the ethnic ties that bound the Fulāni together and the common aspiration that they might harbour in order to assert themselves as a people constituted a major factor. Nevertheless, the community was fundamentally religious in character”.⁵⁰⁴

The above clearly indicates the level and extent of the cooperation that Uthman received from his own tribe. Although, it should be clear that he gets the cooperation only because of religion and ‘*Aṣabiyyah*. In this case, Uthman’s ‘*Aṣabiyyah* comprises that of his blood relations, in the case of his brother Abdullahi and their son Muhammad Bello as they were initially supported him and his mission. This ‘*Aṣabiyyah* as Ibn Khaldun stated is of great importance because of the sympathy and compassion for

⁵⁰² Abdullah bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 41-45 & 98- 101.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Johnstone, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (Np, O. U. P, 1967), 1-17.

blood-ties and families exist naturally in human nature as Allah place it into the heart of men.⁵⁰⁵ This obviously signifies that Uthman gets the '*Aṣabiyyah*' of his tribe and relatives as evidently seen, and finally of Islamic religion whereupon, he united all the Hausa and Fulani people of Hausaland, which they left their social customs which contradicts the teaching of Islam by adopting the pure Islamic teachings. It was in this situation Uthman bin Foduye started getting human power.

As has been illustrated above, whoever limits the term *Badawī* to mean uncivilised people is totally out of the scope of Ibn Khaldun's '*Umrān*'. In a wider sense, although Ibn Khaldun talks about the socio-economic and political activities of human social organisation and civilisation in a rural society, it is important to highlight more on society that was rooted in Islamic religion as in the case of Uthman bin Foduye's society. In this regard, to interpret the term *Badawī* as uncivilised to well practising Islamic society is unfair. This is in total agreement with the statements made by Dr. Ibrahim Mu'azzam Saminu Maibushrah in his interview:

Argued that, to interpret the term *Badawī* as primitive or uncivilised people, is not proper and unfair to Ibn Khaldun since it is not his intent. That is why he further argues that whoever says *Badawī* people are primitive or uncivilised, despite they are following the teachings of Islamic law he is very wrong. With this, the religious life of people in rural societies must be considered in discussing Ibn Khaldun's concept of social change (*Badawī* and *Haḍarī*), otherwise, one can wrongly interpret the terms out of their scope.⁵⁰⁶

In view of the above fact, it may be said that the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society was originally on a religious basis, and it was indeed started in a rural area outside the main city of Hausa Kingdom. In spite of this, there is no way to consider his community as uncivilised, since they were practising the purest teachings of Islam. It might be added that their book of references is the Glorious

⁵⁰⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 97-8.

⁵⁰⁶ Dr. Ibrahim Mu'azzam Saminu Maibushrah, Interviewed for in-deptyh information to this study at his office in the Department of Islamic Studies and Shari'a, Bayero university, Kano, Nigeria, on 16 September 2015. For more details on this point, see Ibn Khaldun's discussion on religious state or regime of law (*Siyāṣah Dniyyah*).

Qur'ān, the Sunnah of the Prophet and the consensus of Muslim scholars. To substantiate this argument, Ibn Khaldun emphasised that “group with religious ‘*Aṣabiyyah* strengthens its power and eliminates any differences, envy or jealousy among members since their intention is to do and die on it”.⁵⁰⁷ Therefore, religious calling according to Ibn Khaldun is a divine matter that can be achieved with Allah’s favour and guidance.⁵⁰⁸ That is why Ibn Khaldun further declared that ‘*Aṣabiyyah* is indispensable to exist in the Muslim community.⁵⁰⁹ Moreover, Islamic religion always played a substantial role in the mobilisation and the transformation of the community.⁵¹⁰ Wahabuddin, highlighted on Ibn Khaldun’s discussion on religious political leadership, whereupon, he asserted that a society is civilised when state institutions created in the light of divine design as such, conform to divine laws.⁵¹¹

Furthermore, ‘*Aṣabiyyah* is the most crucial element in the formation and transformation of Uthman bin Foduye’s community. As clearly seen in the distinctive features of the *Badāwa*, social solidarity is the most fundamental factors in the earliest stage of the transformation of the Nigerian society into an Islamic society. It is reported that what sometimes lead to the decline of ‘*Aṣabiyyah* is different of opinions and lack of common goals among members of a society, in this regard, it is revealed that Uthman bin Foduye did not differ with his people. In fact, despite the fact that his people were of different tribes, he maintained good mutual understanding among them. Again, this is in accordance with the statement made by Dr. Ibrahim Mu’azzam Saminu Maibushrah in his interview declared that:

Uthman bin Foduye was lucky in changing the Nigerian society into an organised Islamic society. He achieved his social solidarity because of lack of differences of opinions among members of his society. Moreover, people who were said to have surrounded Uthman bin Foduye at that time

⁵⁰⁷ Bruce B. Lawrence, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 126.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 127-8.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Alan Burns. *History of Nigeria*, 262-3.

⁵¹¹ Wahabuddin Ra’ees, Wahabuddin Ra’ees, “*Aṣabiyyah*, Religion and Regime Types: Rereading Ibn Khaldun” *Intellectual Discourse*, 2004 VOL 12, No 2, 31 of 159-180.

are simple and obedient, because they were more specialised in agriculture than in business. Their civilisations are strong in the sense that their lives are simple and free from arrogance and luxury as well as extravagant. To me, this shows that Uthman bin Foduye's people are *Badawī* according to Ibn Khaldun concept.⁵¹²

Given this understanding, the Fulāni are consolidated and are most obedient to the eldest family among them in terms of adjudication. This complies with Ibn Khaldun's statement concerning the structure of *Badawī* society, wherein, he asserted that "dwellers of *Badawī* society never have government or established political order, instead they dependent upon the control of the toughest man among them".⁵¹³ Therefore, the Fulani tribe of Uthman bin Foduye are so united, despite the fact that they have natural habits of migration from one place to another.⁵¹⁴ This infers that Fulani have mutual interest, because they are ready to accept any leader who would emerge among them. This is the reason why when they were called to join *Jamā'a*, without any hesitation they responded positively.

The next important concern that needs to be examined here is the defence (*difā'*) that Uthman bin Foduye gave to his community while calling them to abandon traditional religion. And to accept pure Islamic teachings, which Ibn Khaldun emphasised that due to the animal nature of human being, there must be someone among them who can prevent people from any attacks that may rise from each of them, if society needs to be fully organised and developed.⁵¹⁵ In certain respects, it appeared that Uthman bin Foduye since before the establishment of his Islamic government served as a leader of his community, this is because he was always with them and he tried to get them freedom from the persecutions of the rulers of Hausaland. For example, when the Sultān of Hausaland, invited Uthman for *Īd al-Adha* celebrations,

⁵¹² Dr. Ibrahim Mu'azzam Saminu Maibushirah, Interviewed for in-depth information to this study at his office in the Department of Islamic Studies and Shari'a, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, on 16 September 2016.

⁵¹³ Bruce B. Lawrence, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 93-95

⁵¹⁴ C. K. Meek. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. Vol. 1., 248.

⁵¹⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 97.

Uthman used the opportunity and requests the freedom of his community, which in return, the Sultan granted his requests.⁵¹⁶

In another occasion, Uthman in the company of his *Jamā'a* went to the ruler of Hausaland and invited him to accept pure Islamic teachings and administer justice in his government, which made his community have confidence in him, because of showing brevity in approaching a powerful ruler.⁵¹⁷ All these add Uthman bin Foduye's respect in the eyes of his community. As such, their '*Aṣabiyyah*' became strong in the sense that his society noted that he was to save their lives and not to dominate them. They finally resigned from all what is Islamically forbidden and accepted Uthman bin Foduye's mission and started practising pure Islamic teachings. This happens while he and his community were still in the rural area as earlier mentioned.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that any attempts to limit Ibn Khaldun's term *Badawī* to uncivilised people is indirectly interpreting the concept of Umrān in line with the theoretical perspectives of Western scholars on social change. Because, in their attempt, they have tried to show how society developed from traditional to modern, primitive to sedentary without any consideration of Islamic society. Therefore, the present discussion is based on how '*Aṣabiyyah*' and religion played a substantial role in the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society to an Islamic society. The discussion does not in any way show whether Uthman's society is civilised or not.

⁵¹⁶ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 5.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

4.4 The Role of *Umrān* in the Establishment of Uthman bin Foduye's Islamic government (The Sokoto Caliphate)

It is clearly seen that in the evolutionary period of Uthman's contribution, *‘Aṣabiyyah* and religion played a vital role in his success. The best reference to this fact is Nduka who declared that Uthman bin Foduye's success was because of his religious *‘Aṣabiyyah*, which changes the political and economic feature of Nigerian society and Hausaland.⁵¹⁸ Immediately following seeing how he united his community and changed their lives to an Islamic system of life, the rulers began to assassinate him and his community, because if they left him to continue, in their view, he may one day overthrow their Kingdom. This led them to intensify threat of assassination to him in order to extinguish the progress of his mission. This forced Uthman bin Foduye and his *Jamā‘a* to leave Degel (their main centre) and migrate to Gudu a land outside the territory of Hausa Kingdom. But it is stated that this migration is too great for Uthman and his community, in which they could practice their religion freely. Hence, as earlier mentioned, it was on 10th Dhul Qādah 1218 AH (21st February 1804 AD) that the Hijrah to Gudu took place.⁵¹⁹

‘Aṣabiyyah is the root of any transformation, whether in rural and urban societies as it is earlier stated. Therefore, Uthman bin Foduye no doubt had succeeded in changing traditional society of Hausaland to an organised Islamic society. This achievement was recorded due to the role of maximum cooperation that he received from the *Badāwa* nature of the people of Hausaland and other factors as indicated earlier. It has been described that his community was a religious one which *‘Aṣabiyyah* and religion played a vital role in consolidating it. Additionally, upon Uthman bin Foduye's migration and his community to another place, indicates their gesture to withdraw from the territory of Hausaland. The community had gained enough human

⁵¹⁸ Ikechuku Mike Nduka, *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time? Approximation of Nigeria's "groups-in-groups syndrome*, 272.

⁵¹⁹ Abubakar A. Gwandu, 23, also see Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 55; Muhammad Bello, *Infāq al-Māisūr*, 97- 163.

power and they are ready to defend themselves. In spite of this, the existence of ‘*Aṣabiyyah* in any revolution is necessary. This happened not only to ordinary man, but also to the Prophets. For example, Ibn Khaldun declared that the Prophet (PBUH) says, “Allah does not send any Prophets who did not get the protection of his people”.⁵²⁰ The hadith signifies that whatever man needs to do cannot successfully achieve without the support of his people. This was happened to all Prophets even the Prophet (PBUH), because at the time that he manifested his mission of changing the society, even though his tribes were initially rejected him, but the Ansar have fully supported him which in return many others even among his relatives joined him. This indicates that the achievements of man lie on people’s protections or supports. It is imperative to be repeated again here that ‘*Aṣabiyyah* that this study deals with is not the illegal type of ‘*Aṣabiyyah* that Islam condemns, but it is the right ‘*Aṣabiyyah* that helps the development of Islam not for any political domination or proud of superiority.

Uthman bin Foduye has equipped his troops ready and urged them to take weapons ready, to fight with the troops of the rulers of Hausaland. Hence, the battle started between Uthman bin Foduye’s armies under Abdullah as their commander and the armies of Hausaland. Therefore, Uthman bin Foduye’s troops fought many battles since from in 1804 until Allah granted them victory over the fortress of Alkalawa. From there Allah destroyed Yunfa, the Sultan of Gobir. Hence, the praised Allah the Most Exalted for their victory⁵²¹. As such, Uthman and his troops conquered the main city of Gobir, Alkalawa, and then he became the substantive and official leader of the believers (*Amīr al-Mūminīn*).

However, to understand the reasons why Uthman bin Foduye and his troops had overthrown the Kingdom of Hausaland, and established Islamic government, it is of paramount importance to refer to Al-Mudamgha, which he noted, “Ibn Khaldun

⁵²⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 127.

⁵²¹ Abdullahi bin Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt*, 45.

considers group battle as a natural and inevitable process in society that leads to the establishment of the state. Nevertheless, this battle in itself and by itself is not sufficient to lead to the establishment of a state unless it accompanied by conquest. Thus, it becomes possible to say that the state according to Ibn Khaldun, arises through battle or conflict indirectly and conquest directly”.⁵²² It may conclude that it was, therefore, the conquest of Alkalawa led to the establishment of Uthman bin Foduye’s Islamic government.

Uthman overthrew the Kingdom of Hausaland in order to defend his life, his community and for the religion of Allah the Most High to prevail over the Hausaland. Islam was the basis of the newly established government of Uthman bin Foduye. Moreover, Abdullahi bin Foduye elucidated the nature of their *‘Umrān* and its *Asabiyyah* whereupon; he stated that it was not only composed of one tribe but rather with other tribes. In this regard, he has this to say:

We are an army dominant in Islam, and we are proud of nothing but that. Tribes of Islam and Turubbi are our clan Our Fulani and our Hausa all integrated. And among us other than these, certain tribes joined together for the help of Allah’s religion—made up the union⁵²³

Ibn Khaldun reiterated that a religious reformer can only be achieved in changing and eradicating any social evils if his intention is to promote the religion of Islam. In this case, he further emphasised that many people would support him just because of his pure intention. He supported his argument with the Prophetic hadith, which says, “If anyone among you realises any evil acts, let him change by his hand if he cannot do that he should change by his speech up to the lowest level to dislike it in his heart...” This obviously indicates that in any act of changing social vices in human society, manpower is of great importance, because one cannot change blameworthy acts unless he has the

⁵²² Anwar Ameen Al-Mudamgha, *Ibn Khaldun’s Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas*, 222.

⁵²³ Ibid, 101.

ability do so, particularly by hand is only with the assistance of others he can be achieved. Without such protection and power, man at the end will be destroyed.

Furthermore, it is worthy to note that, a state or society established on ‘*Aṣabiyyah* and religion is more lasting and powerful than the one established without the element of religion. To prove this statement, Aziz Azmeh clearly puts that “religion also plays the role of enforcing ‘*Aṣabiyyah*: states of oecumenical sway and great power originate in religion, be this religion a Prophetic religion (Jews, the Arabs, the Almohads) or just an exhortation to goodness. He, therefore, said that religion enhanced the internal unity required for combat in a power situation and an internal element of faith in the fighter. One might say that if two ‘*Aṣabiyyah* groups were equivalent in all but the existence of a religious message within one of them; this one will win by virtues of this difference. Azmeh in proving his statement asserts that Ibn Khaldun adduces the example of the Qādisiyyah battle between the Arabs armies and the Persian when the 30,000 Arabs are supposed to have routed the 120,000 troops of the latter”.⁵²⁴

In addition, to understand the role of group ‘*Aṣabiyyah* in societal change or any revolution, Syed Farid talks about the application of Ibn Khaldun’s idea in modern time, which observes that it was more seriously concerned in the 19th century, while in the 20th century, and the task was less concerned. Syed Farid Alatas quoted the statement of Engel, when he explains how *Badawa* society easily overthrows the *Ḥadārī* society. In this regard, Engel declared that:

The towns’ people due to their luxurious life, used to neglect religious laws. On the other hand, the *Badāwa* societies are poor, but strict morals, they were always contemplating about the life of pleasures in the *Ḥadārī* societies. Therefore, they unite under a leader, prophet, a Mahdi, to penalise the apostates and reinstate the observation of the rituals and the true faiths and to appropriate in compensation the treasures of the apostates. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the apostates are; a new eradication is required, a new Mahdi arises and the struggle starts again from the beginning. According to Engel, that is what happen to the conquest campaign of the African Almoravids and the

⁵²⁴ Aziz Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun: An Essay in Reinterpretation*, 78.

Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum who so successfully dissatisfied the English. He further asserts that, a similar case happened with the risings of Persian and other Muhammadan countries.⁵²⁵

The above statements of Engel silently depict that religious reform or societal change mostly carried out by the *Badawa* societies who are morally fit and ready to accept and obey new religion. He shows that their revolution concerned with the envy of luxurious life of *Badawa* societies. Anyway, this indicates that once society is morally corrupt and neglects religious instructions, change or revolution will soon arise. Alatas asserts, "What is relevant here is the Khaldunian nature of Engels's statement, despite he refused to mention Ibn Khaldun, and probably he reads Ibn Khaldun's translation of the *Muqaddimah*".⁵²⁶ The relevance of this observation to this study is to show that since Hausaland were luxuriously extravagant. At the same time, they were proud of their power; and at the same time, they were not practising Islam in an ordered manner, that is why Uthman bin Foduye and his community united because of their *Badawa* nature and overthrown their Kingdom and established Islam government.

Moreover, Ibn Khaldun affirmed that if a social change is for the sake of political subjugation, one may end in ruin, Allah will never help him to succeed, and this is because of his bad intention.⁵²⁷ This implies that Islamic religious reform is recommended to be carried out by individuals or collective so as with good intention; Allah would definitely guide them to succeed. Furthermore, based on the previous discussion, it is revealed that Uthman bin Foduye played a substantial role in changing what has been un-Islamically practised in the Nigerian history. Therefore, his contribution is unprecedented in nature; it provides a tremendous change in the entire aspects of human life in the history of West Africa in general. Additionally, with the establishment of the Caliphate and the related of the various Fulani Emirates that paid

⁵²⁵ Syed Farid Alatas, *A Khaldunian Exemplar*, 403.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 127.

allegiance to it also integrated the previous isolated Fulani grouping into one single entity with a common objective, interest, and standard.⁵²⁸

Ibn Khaldun stressed that even the Messengers of Allah in their religious calling, groups, and members of their families supported them.⁵²⁹ Hence, no one can escape this principle, as such, '*Asabiyyah*' is necessary. One important thing that needs to highlight here is the importance of the presence of people in any religious calling. For example, Almighty Allah reminded the Prophet (PBUH) that "And verily this (the Qur'ān) is indeed a Reminder for you and your people (Quraīsh people, or your followers), and you will be questioned (about it)".⁵³⁰ This verse according to Ibn Kathīr implies "encouragement to adhere the Qur'ān".⁵³¹ Therefore, one a religious calling is for the sake of Allah and in line with the Qur'ānic teachings, people will be united and consolidated towards the development of Islam, on the other hand, when people refuse to adhere the Qur'ānic teachings by adopting what is Islamically forbidden, it might hasten their downfall. Hence, Islam is not for a single person, but rather to the entire nations.

It is noteworthy that the type of government, which Uthman bin Foduye established is the same as the regime of law or (*Siyāsah Shar'īyyah*) which theorised by Ibn Khaldun. As earlier mentioned that, the Caliphate had united people into one single political entity, therefore, it remained a manageable federation of emirates that recognised the leadership of Uthman bin Foduye as "Commander of the Believers." In consequence, because of its strong '*Asabiyyah*' of religion, it was, however, able to have thirty Emirates linked to it by the mid of 19th century.⁵³² Furthermore, it becomes obvious that all the Emirates under the Caliphate are answerable to the Caliph for

⁵²⁸ Labelle Prussin, "Fulāni-Hausa Architecture" *African Arts*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Oct., 1976), 8-19+97-98.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Qur'an, *Surah Al-Zukhruf*, 25: 44.

⁵³¹ Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir: An Abdriged by a Group of Scholars under the Supervision of Shaykh Safiu al-Rahman Mubarakpuri* (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar-us-sala.com, 200), www.Alim.com.

⁵³² John N. Paden, *Contemporary Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphate*, 242.

consultations before any judgements. In addition, they must pay tribute to it annually, especially during *Eīd al-Fitr*'. This tradition was still practising in all Emirates of Nigeria.

In supporting this finding, Ibn Khaldun confirmed that a government based on religious laws is the government that governs all people in accordance with the provisions of both religious and worldly matters. The example of this government in the opinion of Ibn Khaldun is the one based on the Islamic religion. The head of state called the Caliph, *Imām*, or *Sultān*, because they have to act as a substitute for a Prophet in preserving religious and worldly prosperity and their peoples. The people as a congregation must follow Caliph as the state leader like Imam in prayers.⁵³³ To understand the extent of '*Aṣabiyyah* and religion in strengthening the life span of the Caliphates or Dynasties, Ibn Khaldun has analogically deduced an example with the Arab dynasty, whereupon, declared that 'religion made their administration on the principles of religious law and its decrees, which, clearly and indirectly, are concerned each other.

In consequence, the sovereignty and administration of the Arabs became boundless and solid.⁵³⁴ This implies that it was because of Uthman bin Foduye's reliance on religion that the Caliphate sustained nearly one century (1809-1903). Additionally, this may be the reason why the Sokoto Caliphate became the most powerful Islamic government in Hausaland; and at the same time, is the reason that it always referred to as unprecedented.⁵³⁵ Another similar view held that the Caliphate made a significant change in the entire region of Africa.⁵³⁶

Conversely, having seen the new Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye established in the city of Sokoto, soon later, he divided the Caliphate into two divisions,

⁵³³ Chamin Thoha, "The Principles of Ibn Khaldun's Thought in the Muqaddimah" retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/3301816/Ibn_Khaldun_Thoughts. Accessed on 24 January 2016.

⁵³⁴ Ibn Khaldun, *The Ibn Khaldun Muqaddimah* (Bruce B. Lawrence), 121-122.

⁵³⁵ Abdullahi Hakim Quick. *Aspects of Islamic*, 1.

⁵³⁶ Marveyn Hiskett. *The Sword of Truth*, 1.

that East and the West. His son, Muhammad Bello, heads the former while the latter headed by his brother Abdullahi bin Foduye. Still Uthman bin Foduye, at the centre, the supreme leader of the Caliphate and the *Amīr al-Mūminīn*, who was monitoring the entire Caliphate. Some views held that, with the division, Uthman shows that he is no longer interested in the leadership of the Caliphate, anyway, he was still respected and used to solve any case that rose in the Caliphate to the extent that once he calls their attention, no one will show any kind of disrespect.⁵³⁷ In addition, the leaders continued imposing a heavy tax on markets, taking bribes; most of the Islamic laws distorted and not properly applied.⁵³⁸ Later on, Uthman bin Foduye died and left behind the administration of the Caliphate to his predecessors. Immediately, many crises had started within the Caliphate, in fact, some emirates have engaged in fighting with others and gradually people begun resigning from doing what Uthman bin Foduye instructed them to do. It has been stated that the leaders of the Caliphate have neglected following the Shari'a instruction; and all that Uthman bin Foduye fought against the rulers of Hausaland they have readopted it, particularly, the un-Islamic traditional titles of the Hausa rulers. Unfortunately, many innovations that Uthman bin Foduye condemned and criticised the rulers of Hausaland, to conclude with, they were disobeyed Uthman bin Foduye's instructions.⁵³⁹ These were among the major internal factors that led to the decline of the Sokoto Caliphate, which most of the authors might have ignored to highlight on.

With the occupation of Sokoto by the Imperial forces of Britain in 1903, the Caliphate came to its final decline by dominating all over its territory.⁵⁴⁰ This indicates that British were the external factor responsible for the decline of the Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye. All the reasons that led to the decline of Hausa

⁵³⁷ M. G. Smith, *Historical and Cultural Conditions*, 164-194.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 141-8.

⁵⁴⁰ Jafar Makau Kaura, *Relevance of Qadiriyya Sufism in the Jihad and its Moderative Effect on the Leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate*, 5.

Kingdom were almost similar to the decline of Sokoto Caliphate. It is in this context that Ibn Khaldun viewed social change in a cyclical form. For example, he (Ibn Khaldun) studies and analyses the society, in all its stages, from its beginning, a *Badawī* society till it is settled and organised in countries and states as well as its fluctuations between weakness and strength, youth and old age, and rise and fall.⁵⁴¹ Probably, Ibn Khaldun's origin of cyclical nature of human societies deduced from the Qur'ānic verse, which Almighty says: "... And these days (of varying conditions) We alternate among the people so that Allah make evident those who believe and [may] take to Himself from among you martyrs and Allah does not like the wrongdoers".⁵⁴² This indicates that whatever happens to the past generations may happen to the present one.

The life of human society is indeed subject to changes and it will be continuous until the end of the world. Most of the changes that occurred in previous societies would serve as lessons or guidelines whereupon follow by the contemporary societies would guide them to succeed. This may be true of the saying that, civilisation comes from history. The best reference to support this statement is Allah's saying:

There was certainly in their stories a lesson for those of understanding. Never was it (i.e. the Qur'ān) a narration invented, but a confirmation of what was before it and a detailed explanation of all things and guidance and mercy for a people who believe.⁵⁴³

In view of the above verse, the changes that have been taking place in Nigerian society particularly the one which engineered by Uthman bin Foduye might be a lesson to not only the contemporary Nigerian society but to the African Continent and even to the Muslim World. In a similar way, Muhammad Dhauodi made a comparative analysis and discussion of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *Umrān* and some of his colleagues among

⁵⁴¹ Abdullah Enan, *Ibn Khaldun Life and Work*, 82.

⁵⁴² The Qur'an: *Arabic Text with Corresponding English Meanings, English Revised and Edited by Saheeh International* (Al-Muntada Al-Istalami, London: Abul-Qasim Publishing House, 1997), Qur'an, *Surah al-Imran*, 3: 140.

⁵⁴³ Qur'an, *Surah Yusuf*, 12: 111.

the founding fathers of Western sociology on societal change. To understand this, he confirmed that:

Many similarities and differences are found between the author of the *al-Muqaddimah* and Comte, Marx, Durkheim and Weber. As to the evolution of human societies, they did not see eye to eye. While the European sociologists saw evolution of human societies in a linear pattern, Ibn Khaldun found the evolution of Arab-Muslim societies cyclic in nature. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun had found a strong link between the wide spread of extreme materialism/luxury in Arab-Muslim societies and their weakness and inevitable collapse. This link is hardly found in the works of the Founding Fathers of Western sociology. On the convergence side, both Ibn Khaldun and those Western sociologists agree that social change is a necessary feature of human societies which very often lead societies from simple states to more complex ones: Bedouin to sedentary, traditional to modern, Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft ...etc.⁵⁴⁴

In other words, Garrison has attempted to compare Ibn Khaldun with famous Western Sociologists; he finally discovered many similarities among them, which he posited that Ibn Khaldun's Umran has great influence in the contemporary political values and social change.⁵⁴⁵ Hence, it might be said that 'nothing in this world is an extraordinary in nature'. Thus, everything must have the beginning, the middle, and the end. In this regard, "social change is viewed as an inclusive concept that refers to alterations in social phenomena at various levels of human life from the individual to the global. It is however reported that a considerable amount of sociological thinking has conceived of change as in some sense a violation of the normal".⁵⁴⁶ The foregoing signifies that change may occur in religion, politics, government, family, business, education among others. When it happens in religion, it may be assumed that, is a change from paganism to monotheism or rather from the traditional system of religion to pure religion that forbids associating any partner to the Creator. This is in the case of the Islamic religion.

The above was in total agreement with the life span of three generations of states and dynasties that Ibn Khaldun analogically deduced. Since he believed that state like a

⁵⁴⁴ Mahmoud Dhaouadi, "The Concept of Change, 43-87

⁵⁴⁵ Douglas H. Garrison. *Ibn Khaldun and the Modern Social Science*, 4.

⁵⁴⁶ Robert H. Lauer, *Perspectives on Social Change*, 4-13.

human being has its duration of which it cannot exceed one hundred and twenty years, which estimated forty years each. Actually, Ibn Khaldun made his assumption based on what the astrologer and physicians naturally deduced.⁵⁴⁷ Therefore, the Sokoto Caliphate, the Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye declined in its third stage of the remaining forty years that can make it fully to one hundred and twenty years; nevertheless, it falls within the conceived periods by Ibn Khaldun.

4.5 The Relevance of Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān in the Present Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto, Nigeria

The preceding discussion exposed the substantial role played by Uthman bin Foduye in changing the Nigerian society in the light of Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'Umrān. Thus, in order to balance Ibn Khaldun's 'Umrān because of its universal functions, the present discussion focusses to discover its relevance in today's Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto. More so, prior to proceeding, it should be noted that there is serious debate among intellectuals about whether the Sokoto Caliphate still exists or not. Since the argument is originated as a result of its British colonisation in 1903. Accordingly, the majority agreed that the Sokoto Caliphate failed to exist since 1903. This was because addressing the Caliph as *Amīr al-Mūminīn* was completely replaced with the Sultan, by the High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria, F. J. D. Lugard.⁵⁴⁸ Instead of Sokoto Caliphate, it is now addressed as the "Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto". Nevertheless, it represents the entire Nigerian Muslims in various aspects of life. However, it can be said that the Islamic distinctiveness of today's Northern Nigeria is a direct legacy of the pre-colonial Sokoto society. One may be argued that the far North of Nigeria has become one of the

⁵⁴⁷ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 134.

⁵⁴⁸ Chinedu N. Ubah, "The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004", In *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, 358.

most profoundly Islamized societies of the late twentieth-century. In addition, it is the main reference of Islamic discourse in contemporary Nigeria.⁵⁴⁹

This research discovered that religion and Madhab had a pivotal role in the maintenance of Nigerian solidarity to the Sultanate of Sokoto. Since during the time of Uthman bin Foduye, they were strictly following the Maliki school of thought, this was continued up to date, despite the fact that it has been modified in a few respects, in terms of punishments.⁵⁵⁰ The Sultān still respected by all Muslims in Nigeria whether from the Northern or Southern parts of the country. It further reveals that the Sultan of Sokoto considered as the spiritual leader of all the Muslims⁵⁵¹ In a clear exposition, Ubah confirmed that:

The Sokoto Caliphate has ceased to exist both constitutionally and politically. The former component units i.e. Sokoto and Emirates are still there but they no longer discharge the functions, which made the Caliphate what it was in the 19th century. However, the spirit of the Caliphate lives on in the religious, psychological, and emotional bonds that makes the component parts of the defunct Caliphate distinct in the Nigerian State.⁵⁵²

Given this understanding, it may be said that '*Aṣabiyyah* of love and compassion of the Sokoto Caliphate is still in the hearts of Nigerians because of the legacies that Uthman and other leaders of the Sokoto left behind. In other words, the majority of Nigerian Muslims cannot start and end their fasting of the Month of Ramadan unless the Sultan of Sokoto announces the end of Ramadan. This shows nothing but the bonds of religious '*Aṣabiyyah*, which united the Muslims in Nigeria. As Ubah further observed:

Since the 1980s, the Sultan of Sokoto acquired a new positive image as the President of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs of Nigerian appealing to Muslims across the Emirates. The Council articulates Muslim opinion on more major national issues, especially those affecting Muslims. The leadership of this body enhances the position of the Sultan particularly among the Muslims of the defunct Caliphate in the absence of

⁵⁴⁹ Louis Brenner, "The Jihad Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse", in Nigeria, in *People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder* edited by J. F. Ade Ajayi and J. D. Y. Peel (London: Longman Group Uk Limited, 1992), 21

⁵⁵⁰ John Paden, 242.

⁵⁵¹ C. K. Meek, *The Northern Nigerian Tribes*, 6.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 366.

any visible political role. This position has not been affected by the creation of States⁵⁵³

The fact in the above quotation conforms to Ibn Khaldun's '*Aṣabiyyah*' that has been rooted on religious purposes. For example, Syed Agil noted, "Ibn Khaldun justifies the permissibility of group feeling as a means to establish the religious truth and divine commandments and to safeguard the public interest. As such, it is compulsory for '*Aṣabiyyah*' to exist in the Muslim community. Without it, religion and religious laws will eventually disappear".⁵⁵⁴ Despite the fact that Nigeria today is not a fully practising Shari 'a country, but most of its states including Sokoto in North-Western part of the country are practising Shari'a legal systems on matters of civil cases. In this regard, the Sultanate of Sokoto is representing the public interest of the Muslims in the country. As Ibn Khaldun pointed out the type of political leadership based on Islamic religion as earlier elucidated, consequently, a considerable of '*Aṣabiyyah*' among Nigerian Emirs and their people remained intact. Religious bonds hold them together. The bonds are products of the *Jihād*.⁵⁵⁵

Moreover, as Malami pointed out "despite the colonial rule of nearly sixty years in Nigeria that is from (1903-1960 independence), the tradition of the Caliphate is unprecedented not only in Nigeria, even in the entire West Africa".⁵⁵⁶ Similarly, the impact of Uthman bin Foduye's success in changing the political and economic feature of Nigerian society led to the fact that Islamic law was still the basic framework of which the Muslim in Nigeria basing their day to day life.⁵⁵⁷

One important thing to bear in mind is that religion is still playing a vital role in consolidating Nigerian Muslims under the leadership of the Sultanate of Sokoto. For

⁵⁵³ Chinedu N. Ubah., "The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004", In *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004*, 362.

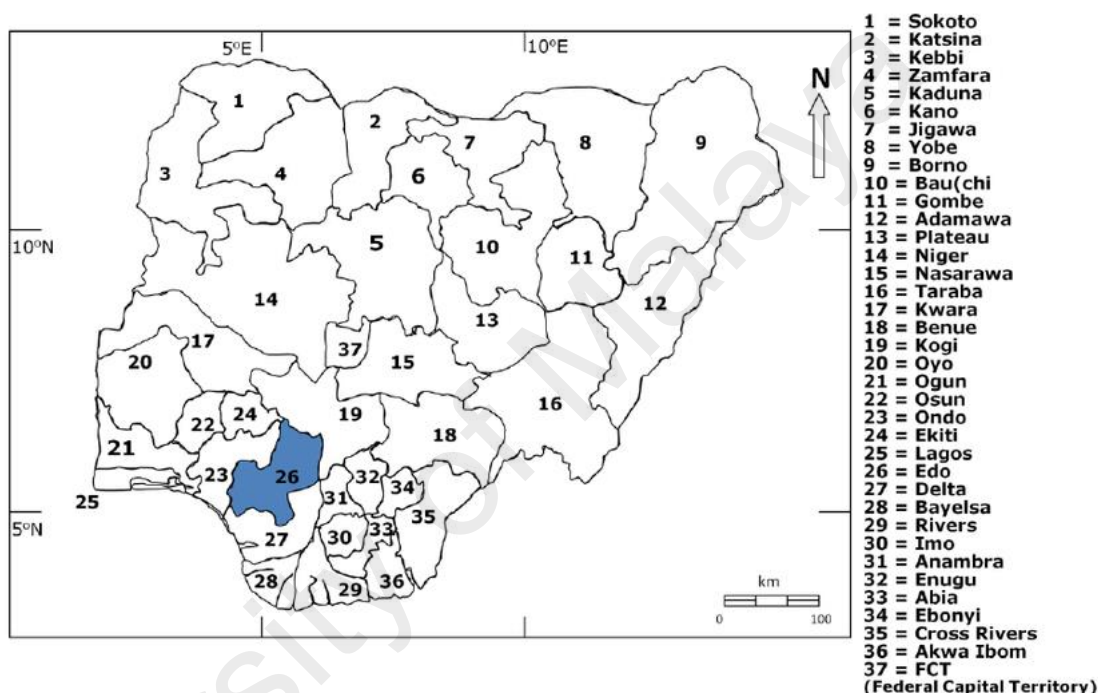
⁵⁵⁴ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economic*, 147.

⁵⁵⁵ Chinedu N. Ubah. "The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004", 362.

⁵⁵⁶ Hussaini Usman Malami, *Economic Approaches and Practices of the Sokoto Caliphate: Some Historical Perspective*, 4.

⁵⁵⁷ Nduka, *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time? Approximation of Nigeria's "groups-in-groups syndrome*, 272.

example, it is earlier noted in chapter two of this study that out of the Nigerian populations, Muslims have constituted the highest percentage. It is not surprising at all since the legacies of Uthman bin Foduye still exist. To understand this, it might be said that the unique emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate have been restructured into various states of the Federation of Nigeria. Today, Nigeria has 36 states as showing in the following map:



It should be clear that “these states are in the current Nigerian system, 14 have had direct experience in the Caliphal/emirate system originating from the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye. Similarly, 19 out of the 36 states were part of the ‘Northern region system, based on the relations of the three major cultural components: 1. The Emirates States; 2. Borno; 3. The Middle belt minority areas’.”⁵⁵⁸ Finally, 12 of these states are currently practising Sharī‘a legal system based on the Maliki codified law as showing in the following Map:⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁸ Padeh, *Contemporary Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphate*, 243.

⁵⁵⁹ Retrieved from: Webdossiers_islamnigeria_shariastates. Accessed on 10 May 2016.



The establishment of Islamic Sharī'a in the aforementioned states might be due to the inspirations of Nigerian Muslims and their respected governors since Nigerian constitution granted freedom of religion to all its citizens. Similarly, the emirates of these states are still under the leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto as the supreme leader. Nowadays, no one among Nigerian Emirs can refuse to answer the call of Sultan. This shows nothing but the extent of *'Aṣabiyyah* among them.

It should be clear that the application of Nigerian Sharī'a legal system in various states was reintroduced in 1999 by the governor of Zamfara State of Nigeria, Alhaji Sani Yariman Bakura, and now a serving senator representing Zamfara West senatorial district in the national assembly. Because of its reintroduction during the democracy era of Nigeria, some argued that it is more a political Sharī'a than pure Islamic Sharī'a since it is not fully practising as in the case of early periods of Uthman bin Foduye and his governors. Sharī'a is still applicable in all those mentioned states.

To understand the solid function of the Sultan of Sokoto as *Sarkin Musulmī* (the Muslims leader), Ibn Khaldun pointed out that since hostility is naturally in human nature, therefore society must get someone who can exercise full control against any oppressor, or who can stop people from oppressing one another. This restraining

authority is achieved through '*Aṣabiyyah*. The Sultan, the Governor, or ruler can act as a restraining authority.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, for the smooth running of Islamic government or even political institutions such requirement is necessary otherwise, people can behave negatively and cheat others. This further indicates the relevance of the concept of '*Umrān* in the context of modern Nigerian society.

It is agreed by various researchers that the concepts of '*Umrān* and '*Aṣabiyyah* when apply in a proper way may strengthen the full active of a state or society. For example, Asyiqin noted that applying Ibn Khaldun's '*Aṣabiyyah* in contemporary Muslim community would extinguish religious conflicts and many other social vices in the society. In her opinion, when '*Aṣabiyyah* of Ibn Khaldun translated as Muslim brotherhood it is, of course, can consolidate Muslim community without showing any differences.⁵⁶¹

Similarly, Sayyid Farid al-Atas, a renown Malaysian sociologist has almost held a similar opinion, but he added that a classical great thinker like Ibn Khaldun whose works reached everywhere in the globe should not be neglected. In addition, when it applies in contemporary societies it would be benefited not only the students of sociology but also the entire Ummah.⁵⁶²

Rahman also observed that Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān* is an excellent concept, which may be applied in Muslim societies; it indeed provides great development economically, religiously, and politically.⁵⁶³ The discussion here is obvious, the views of those who ruled out the irrelevant of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān* in the context of contemporary societies might say to have lacked ground to support their arguments. However, it is not said that Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān* must be acceptable. Although, as a matter of fact, Ibn Khaldun's concepts of '*Umrān*

⁵⁶⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 97.

⁵⁶¹ Asyiqin Abdulhalim. *The Application of Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Asabiyyah*, 1.

⁵⁶² Syed Farid Alatas, *Applying Ibn Khaldun: The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology*, 1-2.

⁵⁶³ Y. A. Aziz, A. A. Rahman, H. Hassan & S. H. Hamid. "Exploring the Islamic and Halal Tourism Definition, 1-10.

and *‘Aṣabiyyah* was supported by many Muslims and non-Muslims, not only in the contemporary world but even in the classical periods. This sufficed to say that what he theorised got the acceptance of many people around the globe and it is not an exaggeration to say that it is suitable to any location, region, and society as well as period so long as the contemporary writers want to understand the reasons responsible for the emergence, progress and dissolution of any societies.

From the foregoing, it appears from the discussion that Nigerian society has consolidated because of the *‘Aṣabiyyah* that has been strengthened by religion that is Islam. This clearly denotes the relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* and its central concept *‘Aṣabiyyah* in present-day Northern Nigeria. What comes after is an attempt to examine the concepts of royal authority, sovereignty and kingship that are in one way or other have a connection with Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān*, though they are irrelevant within the context of modern Nigerian society. The importance of this discussion is to show that Nigerian society since during the time of Uthman bin Foduye to this day, the concepts are not applicable. Even though, before the emergence of Uthman bin Foduye, they were applicable in the government of Hausa rulers. To substantiate this statement, injustice, corruption and various blameworthy acts had appeared mother of the day in Hausaland. For instance, people were treated inhumanly, the immorality of the aristocratic class, and one cannot but agree the welfare of the members of the state, a concept fundamental to Islam was apparently neglected by the rulers of the Hausaland. Only men of special class and the relatives of the socially well placed were benefited from the educational opportunities and commercial activities.⁵⁶⁴ This could be due to the common goals and the strong *‘Aṣabiyyah* that exists among them. This may guide someone to understand that Nigerian society in its setting, yet

⁵⁶⁴ Nwabara Samuel N., “The Fulani conquest and rule of the Hausa Kingdom of Northern Nigeria (1804-1900)”, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1963, tome 33, fascicule 2. pp. 231-242. Retrieved on May 30, 2016, from http://www.persee.fr/doc/jafr_0037-9166_1963_num_33_2_1370.

maintained some of the activities that practically exist in the government of Uthman bin Foduye. It should be clear that kingship, royal authority, and sovereignty are all interchangeable, as Ibn Khaldun asserted could not be accomplished without the presence of *‘Aşabiyyah*. In a wider sense, he (Ibn Khaldun) stated, “Royal authority is a noble and enjoyable position. It comprises all the good things of the world, the pleasures of the body, and the joys of the soul. Therefore, there is, as a rule, great competition for it. It rarely is handed over (voluntarily), but it may be taken away. Thus, discord ensues. It leads to war and fighting, and to attempts to gain superiority. Nothing of all this comes about except through group feeling, as frequently mentioned”.⁵⁶⁵ This suggests that royal authority is something that must work hard before attaining. Members of the family, in most cases, fight with others to maintain the strength of their authority. Surprisingly, due to the enjoyment that attached to the royal authority, its members used to fight with each other to replace another. This happens because of forgetting the life before assuming the royal authority, or the one in authority later used to neglect those who shared the same *Asabiyyah* as Ibn Khaldun asserted, “Ruler gains complete control over his people, claims royal authority all for himself, excluding them, and prevents them from trying to have a share in it”.⁵⁶⁶

Despite the fact that royal authority attains through *‘Aşabiyyah*, it may easily remove and replace by another group with strong group feeling and common understanding. To understand this statement, Ibn Khaldun declared, “*‘Aşabiyyah* (group feeling) produces the ability to defend oneself, to protect oneself and to press one’s claims. Whoever loses his group feeling is too weak to do any one of these things”.⁵⁶⁷ It should be noted that a leader or emir under royal authority concerns only with the pleasure of this world. That is why in most cases he is more concerned with his personal

⁵⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 123.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 233.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 111.

interest than the public as earlier elaborated. The question arises here is why kingship, royal authority, and sovereignty are not be applicable in contemporary Nigerian society, particularly in relations to the power of the Sultan of Sokoto who is the Chairperson of the Nigerian council of ‘*Ulamā*’.

In spite of the caliphate that has been abolished by the colonial masters, Nigerian society was united and consolidated under the leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto. Because, it might say that the Sultan never in anyway prioritises his personal interest against the public. It appeared that he has consultative groups, he was not deciding any matter unless consulted his members. It is in this way one may be in a position to say that sovereignty, kingship, and monarchy was not applicable in contemporary Nigerian sultanate of Sokoto. The best reference to this statement is what Nwabara argues in his article. He explains, “It must be pointed out that the Fulani administration in matters of national importance, the Sarkin Musulmi (Leader of the Muslims) consulted with the leading men of his group before any adjudication”. Nevertheless, others accused the Fulani with the form of autocratic government. This was because of consecutive succession among members of their family, in the sense that one succeeds another either through his father or through grandfather as a Sultan. Countering this accusation, the Northern Premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello, who was a descendant of Uthman bin Foduye, said in the course of a debate in the Northern House of Assembly in 1951, “...I just want to assure the House, and the few extremists, that the Fulani Government was based on a democratic and religious footing. Nothing was done without consultative bodies and if at all, there is any deterioration in the system that has been brought by modern times...”⁵⁶⁸ Moderately, assuming such criticism of the autocratic government of Fulani was justified, it may say that it was benevolent autocracy said Nwabara.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁸ Nwabara Samuel N., “The Fulani conquest and rule of the Hausa Kingdom of Northern Nigeria (1804-1900)”, 240.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

In view of the above, apart from the Islamic Shari'a that maintains justice and protects natural rights to every human being, it might be added that royal authority was not applicable in the Sultanate of Sokoto due to the fact that the British imperialist had established the idea of their human rights, which gives equal freedoms to every citizens. Hence, royal authority, to some extent used to infringe some of the important human rights. To this issue of inapplicability of royal authority in Nigerian society, it may conclude that Nigerian '*Aṣabiyyah* has been replaced by patriotism and nationalism for the sustainable development of the society.

4.6 Conclusion

The foregoing discussions played a significant role in analysing the data collected for this study. From the beginning, it is clear that Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing the Nigerian society is relevant to the Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*. This indicates that the discussions not only answered the designed question but also fulfilled the objective of the study. It should be clear that organisation and transformation of human society are subject to fulfilling the elements that Ibn Khaldun theorised as necessary. Therein, it is noted that Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in the light of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān* in its entirely evolutionary and revolutionary period is understood. It is further understood that changing that has been taking place in Uthman bin Foduye's society was in line with Ibn Khaldun's social change and other Western Sociologists' scholars. Also, it is understood that '*Aṣabiyyah*, which is the central concept of '*Umrān* was the important factor in the successful changing of Nigerian society by Uthman bin Foduye.

The discussion further shows that without the role of '*Aṣabiyyah* and religion, Uthman bin Foduye could not overthrow the Kingdom of Hausaland and established his Islamic government, which survived almost a century. Moreover, it is understood that

government based on religious laws is the most powerful government that can live long as in the case of various Islamic government and the Sokoto Caliphate. Another group with strong *‘Aṣabiyyah* can easily overthrow a society or state with weak *‘Aṣabiyyah*. This is obvious when one looks at what subsequently happens to the Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye, which immediately after his death, conflicts arose among various emirates, which led to its decline at the hand of the British. It was in this sense understood that Ibn Khaldun’s societal change is cyclical in nature because what previously happens to the Kingdom of Hausaland was the same with what happens to the Sokoto Caliphate. In sum, one at all cost cannot deny the relevance of Ibn Khaldun in the past and in the modern time. It is, evidently seen that the concept of *‘Umrān* is still relevant in the present Nigerian Sultanate of Sokoto, which shows that Nigerian society particularly, the Muslims are united under the leadership of the Sultan. It is noted that kingship, monarchy, and sovereignty have connections with the Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān*, yet they were not applicable during the time of Uthman bin Foduye and in present day, the Sultanate of Sokoto. This was due to the fact that the Fulani government has consultative groups that they used to consult before any decision. They also respected human rights according to the Sharī’a. These are the reasons that made Nigerian society united under the present Sultanate of Sokoto. Thus, it is understood that without *‘Aṣabiyyah* and religion such unity cannot be achieved.

CHAPTER 5: THE COMMON BACKGROUND BETWEEN UTHMAN BIN FODUYE AND IBN KHALDUN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THEIR THOUGHTS ON THE DECLINE OF STATES/SOCIETIES AND DYNASTIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the common background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun. It presents a comparative analysis of their thought on the decline of states/societies and dynasties. In the views of the two figures, such factors include indulgence in a life of luxury, oppression and injustice, imposing a heavy tax on the subjects and corruption and favouritism. The chapter further illustrates that Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun not only shared the same views on the above-mentioned factors but also however elucidates that Uthman bin Foduye has been influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought. Thus, the chapter looks at how and where Uthman bin Foduye mentioned Ibn Khaldun in his writings.

5.2 The Common Background between Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun

This section is another chief concern of this study, the reason is that most of the contemporary researchers and academics wonder about on what aspects a comparison can be made between the two figures, saying that Uthman bin Foduye is an Islamic reformer while Ibn Khaldun, on the other hand, is a great thinker. They usually ask the question whether Uthman bin Foduye has a political theory or not. The answer here is in affirmative yes, thus, he was not only formulated a political theory but even social respectively. In order to make this argument clear, it is significant to note that Uthman bin Foduye does not only formulate a political theory but rather implements it practically.

As a matter of comparison, it becomes obvious that Uthman has theory and practice while Ibn Khaldun has only theory without practice. This is because Ibn Khaldun does not establish any Islamic government; despite that, he can be considered

as a society reformer since he sets out the factors responsible for the development of a successful society as evidently seen in the previous discussion. To substantiate this statement, Abdulqadir observed that, “Ibn Khaldun because of his theoretical approach to the account of his societies guides him to introduce his concept of societal organisation (*‘Umrān*)”.⁵⁷⁰ While on the other hand, Uthman bin Foduye established an Islamic government in the nineteenth-century based on the available knowledge that he acquired from his teachers and experiences of his society. Consequently, the Islamic government survives up till the colonial invasion in 1903⁵⁷¹ as previously mentioned. In addition, before the above point will be further developed, it may be useful to know what the term political theory is all about since it is relevant to the present discussion. By the way, it is significant to refer to Mukhtar Bunza who at a glance studied vividly the political philosophy of the Islamic government of Uthman bin Foduye.

He firstly observed that “the terms Political thought, Political Theory, and Political Philosophy, are occasionally used interchangeably both in content and circumstance. Political thought in this regard refers to thoughts, values, and theories, which stimulate policy and political conduct. In other words, it connotes, principles that people attempt to explain each other’s political behaviour, the values by which they judge it, and tools applied to control it. On the other hand, Political notion or theory concerns more with the theory of the state, of law, of representation and election/selection of a leader, a king and a ruler. Political Philosophy, therefore, seeks the most general answers to most general questions of method, the concept of justice and analysing these to determine its ground and usefulness; and Political Science, serves

⁵⁷⁰ M. AbdulQadir, “The Social and Political Ideas of Ibn Khaldun” *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (October—December, 1941), 117- 126, Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42743704>. Accessed: 27-12-2015 18:10 UTC.

⁵⁷¹ Jafar Makau Kaura, “Relevance of Qadiriyya Sufism in the Jihad and its Moderative Effect on the Leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate”, 5.

as a more academic discourse of these theories and method in comparison with other disciplines”.⁵⁷²

In supporting the above discussion, it can say that whatever the theory that Uthman bin Foduye formulated is undoubtedly put into practice. Therefore, Bunza further describes that theory and concept of state/ government in the contextual of the Sokoto Caliphate is unique in various senses. One of the most striking and distinctive features of the Sokoto scholarship was connecting and combining of intellectual events and political authority. The Sokoto scholars were intellectuals, political administrators and at the same time researchers. Bunza reiterated that “Uthman and his lieutenants put into practice whatever they theorised in their writings. This case is very different in the case of the central Arabian Islamic movement of the 19th century where Saud relied on Shaikh Muhammad bin Abdulwahab to provide guidance and philosophy of action; the Sokoto leadership combined both theoretical knowledge and practical leadership. More so, all their ideas were in written and codified texts (in classical Arabic) that are meant for future, and clearly possess the capacity to respond to most challenges of modern times in terms of governance and political organisation”.⁵⁷³

Although Sokoto scholars refer to Uthman bin Foduye, his brother, Abdullah and his son, Bello, the discussion is actually talking about the political theory of Uthman bin Foduye, despite that sometimes reference will make to his brother and his son, particularly on the same topic. Bunza noted that “Uthman bin Foduye was himself satisfied with the intellectual capacity of his lieutenants in terms of their expertise in

⁵⁷² See Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought*, 3rd Edition, 2007 for details discussion on the subject, in Mukhtar Umar Bunza, *Initiative for Quality Leadership and Sustainable Development: A Model from An African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria. A Paper Presented at the Conference on Islamic Political System (CIPS), by the National Scholars Association (ILMUAN), Malaysia, Kulala Lumpur, 2011, 18.*

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

philosophy and theory of government”,⁵⁷⁴ as he clearly indicated in the conclusion of his book *Najm’ al- Ikhwān*:

That one should stick to the books of his brother, Abdullah, because he wrote a lot on Shari’a, and one should read the books of his son, Muhammad Bello, because he discussed extensively on administration, politics, and how to rule with justice, which is relevant to us, and our period and our country. In addition, one should read my (Uthman) books because have discussed both politics and religion. All our books (Abdullah, Muhammad Bello and Uthman) are from the Qur’ān and the Hadith.⁵⁷⁵

This consciously suggested that their thought of whatever types did not against the basic teachings of the Glorious Qur’ān and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH). Consequently, most of the Uthman bin Foduye’s relevant literature to this topic has already mentioned above, although references to them for future discussion will frequently mention.

5.3 The Causes of the Decline of States/Societies and Dynasties in the Thought of Uthman and Ibn Khaldun

What follows here is an attempt to compare and analyse the negative factors that lead to the decline of states, societies, and dynasties within the contextual thoughts of Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun. Therefore, among them are the following:

5.3.1. Self-Indulgence in a Life of luxury

Based on the previous discussion of Ibn Khaldun’s dualistic types of human societies, the finding reveals that life starts from ease prior to luxury and comfort. Hence, it is understood the underlying factors that lead people to transit from rural society to an urban society. This, in reality, is all about the rise and fall of a state or dynasty. Based on this statement, Bunza argues that the Sokoto Caliphate scholars outline some factors

⁵⁷⁴ Bunza, Mukhtar Umar Bunza “Initiative for Quality of Sustainable Development: A Model from an African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria”, 18.

⁵⁷⁵ Uthman bin Foduye, *Najm’ al-Ikhwān Yahtadūna bihi fī ‘Umūr al-Zamān*, edited by A.B. Yahaya, and translated by Abubakar Buba Luwa in Selected Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 3, (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra’ Publishing House, 2013), 327.

responsible for the development and disintegration of a policy. In chapter 53 of *al-Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra*, Uthman discusses practices wherewith a state cannot survive, wherein he supported his argument with Allah's saying:

And when We desire to destroy a city We command its men who live at ease, and afterwards they commit abomination therein, then the Word (of doom) is proved true of it, and We destroy it utterly.⁵⁷⁶

Following that, Bunza has observed that both "Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun based their reasons for the decline of a state to the excessive life of luxury of those who in authority; and their evidence is based on the above Qur'anic verse".⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, Uthman bin Foduye, mentions in *Diyā' al-Khulafā'* that, "if Allah decides the ruining of a state (or authority), He will give control of its affair to the children of lavishing (extravagant). Likewise Sultans, whose main purpose, had been to exaggerate the affair of the authority and to acquire aspects of lust (and the soul's desire), and to get into acts of sinning, so Allah will withdraw honour (or eminence/power) from them on that account".⁵⁷⁸

Similarly, Uthman bin Foduye's brother, Abdullahi bin Foduye, in section eight of his book entitled *Diyā' al-Sultān* has emphasised that when *Amīr* is extravagant, it causes the decline of his state. Abdullah first supported his argument with one of the Qur'anic verses, which Allah says "And soon will the unjust know what changes their affairs will take".⁵⁷⁹ In this regard, he (Abdullah) says, "the *Amīr* must spend Allah's wealth in lawful manners, with generosity and without miserliness or extravagance."⁵⁸⁰ Generosity means giving out what needed to the right person, according to need. He further pointed out that whoever goes outside this point has indeed, transgressed and has

⁵⁷⁶ Qur'an, *Surah Al-Isra*, 17: 16.

⁵⁷⁷ Bunza, Mukhtar Umar Bunza "Initiative for Quality of Sustainable Development: A Model from an African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria", 22.

⁵⁷⁸ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'ala al-'Ibād*, edited and translated by Sulaiman Musa Abubakar Buba Luwa in *Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye* Vol. 3. (Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra Publishing House, 2013), p. 181.

⁵⁷⁹ Qur'an, *Surah Shu'ara*, 26: 227.

⁵⁸⁰ Abdullahi bn Foduye, *Diyā' al-Sutān*, 143-4.

done injustice. He has no share in (the benefit of) generosity. He is either miserly or extravagant. Therefore, each of these two qualities (that is, miserliness and extravagance) causes damage to the emirate in every sense. Accordingly, whoever has positive disposition must be assigned especially trusted ones of his people, to take care of the wealth his emirate gives out”.⁵⁸¹

Moreover, Ibn Khaldun posited that a luxurious life is the unique feature of people who are living in urban society. They used to acquire wealth beyond their necessities. However, because of financial capacity everybody in society depends on his money. Thus, people in such society used to build large houses and take pride in them. It is just because of increase in luxury and comfort, which gradually leads to the development of the most advanced extravagance custom.⁵⁸² Ibn Khaldun considers people in rural society are braver than people who are in urban society because people in urban society have become used to comfort and easiness.⁵⁸³

Similarly, Ibn Khaldun, in elucidating his concept of *‘Umran* declared that the life of dynasty cannot usually go beyond three generations, in the first generations, people retain the desert qualities, and at the same time they are so brave and courage, they are sharing the glory with each other. In this case, the strength of their *‘Aşabiyyah* is intact, and they are integrated. However, he (Ibn Khaldun) reiterated that under the power of royal authority and a life of comfort, the second-generation changes from the desert behaviour to *Ḥaḍarī* culture. This implies a transition from hardship to extravagance. According to Ibn Khaldun, this is a situation whereby everybody shared glory to others in which one-man claims the glory for him with the exclusion of who from the beginning supported him.⁵⁸⁴ Consequently, the strength of *‘Aşabiyyah* in this case, is to some extent destroyed. Finally, people become humbleness and disobedience;

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah with New Introduction* (Bruce B. Lawrence), 91.

⁵⁸³ Ibid, 94.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

all moral virtues go away from them. In the third generation, people have completely forgotten desert life and its hardness. In this case, they completely lost their ‘*Aṣabiyyah*’ because they dominated by power. In addition, they submitted their life to a state or dynasty. Instead of defending themselves, they depend on state. In addition, people here lack self-defence and self-reliance.⁵⁸⁵ In view of this discussion, Soltanzadeh and Soroush observed that Ibn Khaldun clearly indicates, “Getting used to self-indulgence causes the decline of the strength of independence and it destroys courage and bravery in a society”.⁵⁸⁶

In another place in the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun when talking about causes of the decline of a city and civilisation within a city has pointed out that extravagance is the negative factor that leads to the decline of a city, his reason is that the expenses in rural society are short, and there is tiny or little extravagance.⁵⁸⁷ Then, on the other hand, Ibn Khaldun declares, “When a city that had been a royal capital comes into the control of a new dynasty that knows little of extravagance, luxury decreases among the dwellers of that city possessed by it, this is because the masses follow the empire. They return to the custom of the dynasty willingly, the reason for this is that since human nature always follows the customs of their leader...⁵⁸⁸ Ibn Khaldun further opines that because of a little luxury character of a new dynasty, the (*Ḥaḍārī*) civilisation of the city declines, which results life of luxury totally disappeared. Finally, he concludes that this is what he means when he speaks about the decline of a city”.⁵⁸⁹

In respect to the decline of civilisation in a city, Ibn Khaldun explicates, “Power and noble authority are generally achieved by a nation through dominance, it gains only

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 137.

⁵⁸⁶ Mehdi Soltanzadeh and Aliakbar Soroush, Factors “Affecting s Society’s Life Span According to Ibn Khaldun”, in a conference Proceedings of International Conference on Ibn Khaldun’s Legacy and its Significance (Malaysia: ISTAC, IIUM, 2009), 121.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibn Khaldun, The *Muqaddimah*, 471.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

after conflicts and battles...⁵⁹⁰ The success of one of two enemies' lead to the elimination of the other, hence, the situation of the former nation, particularly it is extravagant condemned and regarded abominable and immoral by the people of the new nation.⁵⁹¹ This would cause immoral acts to vanish among them because the new nation disapproves them. Eventually, fresh luxury civilisations slowly develop among them. The result is that they introduce a new urban civilisation. (As new development established), the time in between witnesses a declining and fall of the first urban civilisation. This is the meaning of the decline of civilisation in urban society".⁵⁹² This clearly indicates that life of luxury of the previous nation is declined because of success that recorded by the powerful group. It is therefore new civilisation will be developed with the emergence of a new nation. Overall, it understood that indulgence in luxury at whatever type hasten to cause the collapse of a city, society, and civilisation.

In addition to the above, Syed Agil highlighted that according to Ibn Khaldun, "luxury corrupts the soul which causes the disappearance of '*Aṣabiyyah*', weakens royal authority and the appearance of immoralities. The overindulgence in luxury pays its price in the form of deterioration and decadence of society and civilisation."⁵⁹³ In other words, what Ibn Khaldun attempts to show is the connection between man, materialism and failing of civilisation. However, their connections are not direct in the sense that an increase in luxury will naturally cause an immediate effect on the failing of civilisation through its impacts of the human spirit".⁵⁹⁴ Therefore, as Ibn Khaldun says in the *Muqaddimah*, "Urban society is the product of civilisation. It means the last stage of civilisation and the point where it begins to decay. It also constitutes the final phase of

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*, 163.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

evil and remoteness from goodness”.⁵⁹⁵ It further signifies the end of its lifespan and brings about its corruption.⁵⁹⁶

The above points consciously suggest that indulgence in luxury life may hasten the exteriorisation of man’s life. This is because of the moment that someone feels he is financially okay, is the moment that he may face a lot of challenges in his life, such challenges may include being in an unpleasant situation for fear of insecurity in his community. His movement to different places within his society will be limited, just because of unexpected attacks by armed robbers. Man, apart from being unsecured, his extravagance leads him to take the necessary actions of providing the guard men to protect his life; in this case, he can easily forget the bounties of Allah who made him rich. With this, he becomes spiritually corrupt. The reason why is that once the soul forgets the bounty of Almighty Allah, it will be considered corrupt. The strength of his faith here declined. Additionally, his life and that of his family collapsed because of spending extravagantly. From this stage, man’s civilisation is spiritually and materially ruin. This demarcates the end of his lifespan.

Similarly, Uthman bin Foduye considers a government that evil acts become prevalent as the type of pagans and a non-Islamic government. For example, in his *Kitāb al-Farq*, Uthman stated that “Among the systems of their governments (nonbelievers) is their deliberately eating whatever food they wish, whether it is faithfully allowed or prohibited; and putting whatever clothes they wish, whether religiously allowed or prohibited; and drinking whatever they wish, whether religiously allowed or prohibited.”⁵⁹⁷ Additionally, they are riding whatever riding beasts they wish, whether religiously allowed or prohibited; and taking whatever women they wish

⁵⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 94.

⁵⁹⁶ Syed Omar bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*, 165.

⁵⁹⁷ M. Hiskett *Kitāb al-farq*: "A Work on the Habe Kingdoms Attributed to 'Uṭhmān dan fodio" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1960), p. 567, Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/610038> Accessed: 27-12-2015 17:43 UTC.

without marriage contract, and living in decorated palaces, whether religiously allowed or prohibited; and spreading soft (decorated) carpets as they wish, whether religiously allowed or prohibited”.⁵⁹⁸ From the wordings of this assertion, what causes people to commit such blameworthy acts is because of surplus extravagance and pride of power. Therefore, this type of government might internally and externally collapse.

The above identifies the theoretical perspectives of Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun on the decline of a state, society, dynasty, and civilisation. Hence, indulgence in a life of luxury causes the decline of a society in particular and authority in general. Even from the Qur’ānic perspective, the discussion is clear. This is to understand that no matter how a state is well established, once its people and leaders are extravagant, it will soon collapse and immoral acts will become rampant in that society.

5.3.2 Oppression and Injustice

Uthman bin Foduye, in a number of different places in his writings, affirms that oppression causes the decline of the administrative affairs of a state or dynasty. It also encourages others who are not in authority to do that once the leader is doing so. To understand this, Uthman in the sixth issue of his *Usūl al-‘Adl liwilāt al-‘Umūr* explains that “if the leader is just in spending Allah’s wealth, it becomes obligatory for anyone who possesses such wealth as alms or others, to give it to the leader in order to spend it.”⁵⁹⁹ But to this, he says the wealth from which Allah, the Glorious and the Exalted has forbidden leaders and others involve any wealth acquired by oppression (that is unjust). It is oppression that the leader should take something in order to assign the authority of judgement or other (positions to people).⁶⁰⁰ “It is forbidden, in accordance with the consensus of Muslims. It is also a cause for corruption in religion and the opening of the

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Usūl al-‘Adl liwilāt al-‘Umūr*, 224-225.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

doors of bribery. It is also an oppression of the poor because, when men in authority take (such) wealth, they see that is essential to take (that is extort) wealth from the subjects”.⁶⁰¹

In explaining that oppression tarnishes the image of judges and governors, he (Uthman) elucidated, “Oppression also includes bribery, it forbidden according to the consensus of scholars. It is, therefore, not lawful for the leader, or for any other person among the judges and governors (workers) to take anything from either or both of the disputants before or after judgement. He (the leader) must also not take gifts from the subjects”.⁶⁰² In addition, “It is allowed to him, however, if it from near relations like lineage, or marriage relations, or because of friendship between them, or if (the person who presents the gift does so because) he is not seeking the leader’s favour”.⁶⁰³

Nonetheless, Uthman bin Foduye declares that injustice was among the six immoral practices wherewith a state cannot survive and its collapse is inevitable. Similarly, the other practices as he further stated include namely “lie, envy, harshness, niggardliness, and cowardice. Meanwhile, of those things, also, is a king’s (or a leader’s) hiding away from his subjects. This is because if an oppressive person assured that the oppressed person could not get to the Sultan, he will increase his oppression.”⁶⁰⁴ However, Uthman added that “subjects will continue to have one Sultan so long as they can get their Sultan, but if hides himself (from them), (he should know that) there would be many Sultans. All these social evils are indeed destructive to the states particularly the rulers. So they should be avoided”.⁶⁰⁵ Furthermore, Uthman bin Foduye advised the ruler that “once he has hidden himself from his subjects using screens (mantle, hence barricades) and gates, as well as placed fortified rocks against them, let him know! That Allah’s gate is open to those who ask (and supplicate), with neither a scream nor a

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah ala al-‘Ibād*, 182.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

gategman! (He should know that) authority may last with unbelief, but will never last with injustice”.⁶⁰⁶

From the foregoing, it understood that once rulers lack trustworthy and modesty, their leadership would not live long. This is because anybody can do whatever he wishes, since he is sure that the leaders are doing what is morally unacceptable. This shows that the moral virtues of society in this case collapsed. At the same time, injustice of whatever type causes the decline of the spirit of leadership, especially when rich prioritised over a poor in a matter of dispute for adjudication.

In support of the above statement of Uthman bin Foduye on oppression and injustice, his brother, Abdullah in his book, *Diyā' al-Sultān* has pointed out that “What supports the authority of the Sultan is abstaining from people’s wealth, such that he should not ask them for what Allah has not obliged them (to give)”.⁶⁰⁷ Indeed, “showing appetite towards people’s wealth would destroy the Sultan (reverence in the eyes of his subjects) says Abdullahi bin Foduye. Some of the wealth that Allah has made legitimate for leaders to receive and use (in the interest of the community) are alms in terms of grain, livestock, as well as the alms given out after Ramadan fasting”.⁶⁰⁸

Furthermore, Abdullah has further mentioned the element which destroys the Sultan and his administration, wherein, argues, “Allah has prohibited every wealth that is derived from injustice of leaders and every other person. The money that the *Amīr* may receive in order to appoint judges or some other person is unjust wealth. It is prohibited by the consensus of (all) Muslims. It damages the religion and opens doors of bribery, as well as oppressing the poor. This is because the appointee will say that since money was collected from them when they were appointed; they must collect money from the subjects (who will be appointed later by them). They will oppress the poor

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Abdullahi bn Foduye, *Diyā' al-Sultān*, 141-2

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

people by saying, (for example), ‘we should receive money from you so that we can send it to the person who appointed us’. Abdullah prays that may Allah protect people from oppression and injustice”.⁶⁰⁹ This causes the decline of morality and religious obedience in any state or society of that nature and it virtually shortens the life span of the state no matter how long it exists.

Ibn Khaldun has pointed out that injustice and oppression bring about the decline of state and civilisation, as clearly stated by Uthman bin Foduye and his brother, Abdullah. In consequence, Ibn Khaldun affirms that injustice and hostility in man are the result of abominable acts; he, however, says that mutual hostilities of people who are dwelling in urban society is avoided by either those in authorities or the government, which restrain the subjects under their control from conflicts and attacking each other.⁶¹⁰ This shows that without a proper government and truthful leader, everybody can oppress one another; also in neither the absence of authority nor one is safe from injustice, it causes the decline of society and its civilisation.

Ibn Khaldun has broadly emphasised in section 41 of chapter three of the *Muqaddimah* that, injustice brings about the decline of state and civilisation. According to him, illegal damaging of people’s property eliminates people courage to obtain another property. They become so reluctant and loose the spirit of self-reliance because the courage that they are supposed to have to obtain the property has gone. As a matter of comparison, the extent to which somebody’s right to acquire property violated upon defines the degree and extent to which his ability to obtain property is loosened. When illegal damaging on people’s property becomes general and extensive upon all what would provide living or income, diminishes participation in the commercial transaction.⁶¹¹ This results in a general decline of people courage and at the same time

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁶¹⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* with New Introduction (Bruce B. Lawrence), 97.

⁶¹¹ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 366.

to engage in business. Civilisation here is in decline because of oppression and injustice. However, when confiscation of people's property is frequent, it slows down gaining profit in their business.⁶¹²

The above indicates that once the leader is unjust and oppressing his subjects, their active engagement in business would become slowly for the fear that whatever the profit they gain be confiscated. Eventually, this causes a complete decline of two things simultaneously, that is to say, people courage and city civilisation.

Further, Ibn Khaldun stresses, the development of civilisation and its security, as well as the success of business and its rapid growth, rely on production and all the efforts that people played for their personal interest and income. As long as people stop doing business for a livelihood, because they are not receiving any benefit, the commercial civilisation falls and the whole thing declines.⁶¹³ These are the elements that cause the decline of the spirit of leaders in particular and the development of a state and civilisation in general. So also, injustice and oppression of whatever nature shortens the lifespan of any state and its civilisation as well as the smooth running of its administration.

Furthermore, Ibn Khaldun reiterates that injustice declines the power of armies, it also declines the power of sovereignty, so also, and it declines the financial development of government. He asserted that injustice does not only mean the seizures of someone money or confiscation of others property in their possession, without any cause and compensation. Mostly, people understood injustice in such way, but in reality, it is more than that.⁶¹⁴ Therefore, "it is an injustice to force somebody to do what the religion does not command him to do, or to claim someone property without legal means, or to use it by force. Similarly, whoever collects illegal taxes from someone is

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

indeed committed injustice. Nevertheless, no matter how someone is a leader or a ruler violates the natural human rights to acquire property does an injustice. In addition, a leader who confiscates someone's property does an injustice. The outcomes of these blameworthy acts would lead to the decline of the dynasty, and also the civilisation of the dynasty collapsed since people are denied to have the courage to get something for their survival".⁶¹⁵ In this case, the dynasty is collapsed

Similarly, it seems that the decline of a state, society and civilisation is the actual consequences of the leader's oppression and injustice. It may conclude that the discussion here is of great importance; hence, one cannot deny that injustice destroys a state, civilisation, and sovereignty regardless of its power of money and soldiers.⁶¹⁶ In fact, Ibn Khaldun added that once a ruler continues to retain a powerful hold on his subject's property, *'Aṣabiyyah* will be destroyed.⁶¹⁷ This indicates that even if there is strong *'Aṣabiyyah* among members of a society, it will be annihilated when the ruler is unjust.

Moving to the major challenges of the contemporary world, it is believed that what lead to the decline of most nations in the present-day is the acts of injustice of the leaders. Thus, people in various ways have been denied their fundamentals human rights. To understand this, it is significant to note, "Various evil activities, for example, robbery, theft, murder are generally known as unjust to the welfare of a state, and hence, it has been prohibited by the law of the government. However, many forms of injustice

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ For the detailed discussion of this argument, please see the entire section 14 in chapter three of the *Muqaddimah*. Indeed, Ibn Khaldun explains in a wider sense and substantiates his argument with various Qur'anic verses and hadiths of the Prophet as well as the history of past generations. The discussion is all in line with his ideas of rise and fall of states and dynasties. For example, Ibn Khaldun cites reference with the king of Persians dynasty in the past generation, in which the king was advised to be more concerned with the rights of his subjects, but neglected the advice and continued oppressing them. Consequently, it suddenly causes the decline of the power of his dynasty. However, upon realised his mistakes, he changed and paid his attention to their rights. Subsequently, the dynasty developed and recovered all what it lost as a result of his injustice. Therefore, injustice is indubitable weakens the modesty and mighty of king and the strength of his dynasty. It also causes immoral vires be prevalent in a society, in which people will commit acts of robbery and oppress each other. 366, 7, 8, and 9.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

continue to be prevalent in a society, and yet because of the traditional system of government is hard to identify as injustices”.⁶¹⁸ The previous mentioned “social vices are mostly forced by the leading party itself (this is in the case of most of the ruling parties in various nations of a democratic system) whether it is a strict government or an external invader. Similarly, those who are in authority are mostly using their power in a political manner to infringe the social rights of inferior groups, and to some extent to cause the decline of the political and economic system of a state or government”.⁶¹⁹

However, “it is a political injustice to violate individual rights of liberties, and at the same time, it includes violation of someone rights to vote and be voting. It also includes violation of rights to speak and religion as well as full control from the unnecessary punishment which imposes by cruel judges”.⁶²⁰ On the other hand, “economic injustice includes the disappointment of the state to provide individuals with all the necessary things for his survival, such as direct access to sufficient food and lodging. Generally, with the differences in the distribution of wealth, sometimes an inferior become a poor while the rich live in extravagance. This happens due to the economic injustice, the state here fails to maintain balance among members of the society”.⁶²¹ In most cases, what would produce injustice is “showing discrepancies between a poor and a rich, in which a poor is hard to get job and education of good quality as well as good health care. With these situations, man will believe that he was blocked to receive a fair portion of the resources and benefits that are available in such society”.⁶²²

⁶¹⁸ Morton Deutsch, "Justice and Conflict." In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Deutsch and P.T. Coleman (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers, 2000), 55

⁶¹⁹ Paul Wehr, Heidi Burgess, and Guy Burgess. *Justice Without Violence*. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 9.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 37.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Michalle Maiese, “Adressing Injustice” June 2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/address-injustice>. accessed on 24 January 2016.

The above-mentioned indicates the real causes of the decline of various society and nations in the contemporary world. Nowadays, many nations have failed to recognise human rights particularly the rights of politics and freedom of religion, which to the extent that it might say people have denied practising what their religion prescribed. This is what causes conflicts and destruction of nation's property by means of demonstration in demanding people's rights. When this happens, the strength of government and its civilisation will collapse. It should be clear that it is an injustice of state that causes its own destruction, in this regard, so long as a state to survive, it must maintain justice to everybody, if not, it will be disintegrated.

5.3.3 Imposing Heavy Tax on the Subjects

Although *Kitāb al-Farq* of Uthman bin Foduye has earlier mentioned frequently, nevertheless, it will be referred again. This is because of its relevant to the present discussion. For example, as noted by Abdurrahman I. Doi that Uthman wrote the book about the rulers with greater severity and gave an index of over twenty charges against them, as already mentioned that oppression, corruption was among such charges.⁶²³ In spite of this, Hogben and Kirk-Greene have reiterated, "Uthman's accusations had to be made to establish the legitimacy in the Sharī'a law for a *Jihād* because in Islam rebellion against the ruler is a grievous sin unless his apostasy is proved. The abuses complained included the imposition of unlawful penalties and oppressive taxation".⁶²⁴

Understanding the foregoing, some of the accusations have already singularised in the above-detailed discussion. The chief concern here is oppression through imposing a heavy tax on the subjects. However, Ibn Khaldun, about imposing a heavy tax on the masses has clearly pointed out that it often leads to the decline of the state or dynasty.

⁶²⁵ His point of reference is usually the rural society, as frequently stated that the life in

⁶²³ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria: A Case Study*, 37.

⁶²⁴ S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, 120.

⁶²⁵ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 358.

rural society is easy and not difficult, yet expenses and expenditures are undersized. Then once the life is promoted to an urban society, it will be totally changed in which everything will become expensive.⁶²⁶ Therefore, it is in this case that the expenditures of people in the dynasty grow. Especially the expenses of the ruler increase excessively because of his expenditures for his support and various allowances that he has to get. However, Ibn Khaldun exposed that not all the revenues collected from the tax can pay for the ruler expenses. This will lead the state or dynasty to increase its revenues; this is because the soldiers and the ruler himself need more and splendid money for the settlement of their expenses.⁶²⁷

It should, however, be noted that as expenses and needs increase sharply under the power of the gradual development of life of luxury, it necessitates additional allowances for the soldiers of fortune, in this regard, the dynasty turn to be declined.⁶²⁸ More so, in the view of Ibn Khaldun, the people of such dynasty are no longer strong to gather the levies from the cities and far distant areas because of their financial scarcity. Hence, it causes the decrease in revenue from taxes, at the same time people's desire to acquire money increases drastically. With this increment, the allowances and salaries of soldiers would also increase.⁶²⁹ Consequently, as Ibn Khaldun further declared, in order to determine the solution of this problem, the ruler must introduce a new system. He taxes people on commerce (to pay his new salary scale). The ruler in this case will impose taxes on good in the market and for the tollgate as well as on any imported good to the city. What causes the ruler to do that is because of the high demand of huge salary and allowances of the soldiers.⁶³⁰

In consequence, Ibn Khaldun emphasises that with the above conditions of high taxes by the rulers, soon later the business in that society falls due to the excessive

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

taxation. Nevertheless, “it causes people’s hope for interest and benefit to be declined and pave the way to the annihilation of civilisation upon a society and dynasty. This condition continues sharply till the society and dynasty collapsed”.⁶³¹

The above silently suggests that with the new modification in the tax system by the ruler, people will suffer and the dynasty will lack almost its support from them. Moreover, it weakens people incentive to participate more in different businesses. Therefore, in the view of Ibn Khaldun, imposing extra taxes on the subjects will shorten the life span of a dynasty and civilisation.

In support of the above discussion, Ibn Khaldun evidently gives reference to the past dynasties that have been levied extra taxes on their subjects. In this regard, he affirms, “this incident mostly occurred in the Eastern towns in the early days of the Ubaydid and Abbasid dynasties. During these dynasties, taxes levied even upon those who are going to pilgrimage. Hence, it was later eliminated all these kinds of extra taxes and changed with important jobs by Salahuddin bin Ayyub. Ibn Khaldun also emphasised that similar incidence occurred in Spain during the time of *Ta’ifas*. Eventually, *Amir* of the Almoravid, Yusuf bin, put it to an end. Nonetheless, in the town of Jarid in *Ifriqiyyah*, a similar case was happening”.⁶³²

5.3.4 Corruption and Favouritism

As earlier noted that corruption is one of the unworthy acts for which Uthman bin Foduye criticised and condemned the rulers of Hausaland. Consequently, Uthman, nonetheless, in his *Kitāb al-Farq*’ declares, “Among the systems of unbeliever’s government is giving a gift to one who takes them before the ruler. He concludes that this is the characteristics of the unbelievers in their governments, and everyone who follows their way in his leadership then he has in truth followed the way to Hell-fire”.⁶³³

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Uthman bin Foduye, *Kitāb al-Farq*, 567.

He supported his argument with one of the Qur'ānic verses, where Allah the Most High is saying:

And whoever contradicts and opposes the Messenger (PBUH) after the right path has been shown clearly to him, and follows other than the believer's way, We shall keep him in the path he has chosen, and burn him in Hell-what an evil destination.⁶³⁴

In the view of the above, one may understand that corruption is totally forbidden in Islam. Therefore, whoever commits corruption is weakening the spirit of his faith according to the above verse; and at the same time, it is clearly disobeying Allah and His Messenger. In the contemporary world, corruption might be the factor that leads most of the leaders and rulers failed to maintain justice among their subjects this is either financially or politically.

Similarly, as earlier mentioned that chapter 53 of Uthman's *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah* is specifically talking about the practices that cause the destruction of a state and society, nevertheless, in the same passage, Uthman posited that favouritism leads to the final destruction of a Kingdom or dynasty. For example, he has this to say, "One of the fastest things that destroy authority is to prefer one tribe (or clan) to another, and to treat some people with favouritism against others, and to bring near such a person that should rather be kept far".⁶³⁵ In this regard, to show the importance of consultations before deciding any matter, Uthman gives a story of a king who lost his authority for that reason. He narrates that a king was asked after his authority had disappeared when he (the King) was asked about what had caused it to disappear, he responded: "My being tyrannical (or dictatorial) with my opinion and my negligence in making consultation".⁶³⁶ It seems that the king refuses to seek advice before selecting who can deputise or represent him in his absence

⁶³⁴ Qur'ān, *Surah al-Nisa*, '4: 115.

⁶³⁵ Uthman *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra*, 181-1

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

From the foregoing, Bunza has pointed out that “collapse of government and administration are also caused some acts unworthy of leadership no matter how a person is intelligent and knowledgeable should seek advice and consult before taken decisions. Failure to this, in the viewpoints of Uthman, shortened the lifespan of governments if they were to survive at all level”.⁶³⁷ In addition, Muhammad Bello, the son of Uthman bin Foduye, in his book entitled *Kitāb Usūl al-Siyāsah*, when talking about who is not qualified to be a leader, he categorically opines, “whoever gives leadership to not qualified person is party to oppression for placing a things where it does not belong”.⁶³⁸ Thus, it may conclude that placing a thing in a right place is preferable according to the Sharī‘a; therefore, no matter how the ruler goes against this, it will definitely destroy his authority. To avoid such decline, rulers must practice what the Sharī‘a dictates. Hence, taking a bribe and favouring one over another without due course is forbidden.

Furthermore, in *Bayān*, Uthman added that a man was asked, “What is the matter with the king of the Sāsānid Dynasty that made him become what he became”? He responded: It is because they had vested small men with the works of great men. It is in this regard that wise men have said the death of one thousand people among the highly-placed men is less harmful than the rise into the authority of one person among the abased”.⁶³⁹ This in the case of someone who is not qualified to lead people, when he appointed, indeed caused the decline of the spirit of the dynasty.

Likewise, Ibn Khaldun illustrates how gradually corruption infiltrated a dynasty, in which, he asserts that a situation whereby both the ruler and his staffs acquired huge money through imposing taxes when the dynasty is well established.⁶⁴⁰ However, the ruler, in turn, changed his mind and kept aside those who assisted him through ‘*Aṣabiyyah* to become a ruler. In this case, the staffs and those in the government of the

⁶³⁷ Bunza, Mukhtar Umar Bunza “Initiative for Quality of Sustainable Development: A Model from an African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria”, 23.

⁶³⁸ Muhammad Bello, *Kitāb Usūl al-Siyāsah*, 263-4.

⁶³⁹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah*, 181.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 236.

dynasty, however, decided to take away of some government's property and keep in a sacred place. They believed that is the only way they can get their own benefit and interest since the ruler acquired huge money while depriving them to acquire as he did. Later on, the glory and strength of such dynasty declined. Ibn Khaldun further declares that people in this regard has committed a great mistake and self-delusion, which to some extent will lead to their decline materially.⁶⁴¹ This clearly suggests that it is corruption, taking what is not legally permitted to take; also, it indicates that by doing so the state or dynasty will not live long because it lacks financial strength and power to continue as is.

Moreover, something that becomes prevalent in contemporary society is taking a bribe in return for getting a job even if someone has the requirements to get. This situation was happening everywhere around the globe. In some cases, is the leader or ruler who himself collects a bribe. He is, therefore, corrupt and at the same time encouraging people to be corrupt. In this case, Ibn Khaldun elucidates that "once a ruler is selfish and harsh to his subjects, in which he demands them in a high rate to do what is beyond their capacity will lead to their decline".⁶⁴² This may assume that when someone asked to do or bring something in exchange of another thing of valuable nature, which he cannot afford to do or bring, will definitely cause him to ruin either physically or mentally. In support of his assertion, Ibn Khaldun referred with the Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH), which says, "Follow the step of the helpless among you".⁶⁴³ This indicates that once a poor person needs assistance, he should assist without taking any interest. Nevertheless, when rulers go against this injunction they would open the door of corruption in a society.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 153.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

In respect to the issue of favouritism, it is detrimental to the development of society or to the strength of government and administration. This happens when someone appointed as a leader, who in reality does not fulfil the requirement of leadership. Hence, he appointed either by chance or through successions that sometimes a child appointed as a ruler or he inherited from his father. Virtually, Ibn Khaldun declares that when this happens, “it is obvious that he is incapable to discharge the functions of ruler. Later on, somebody must be appointed in order to help or guide him, in this case he will be deprived of his inherited leadership, and the person on his behalf can do whatever he wishes and let the child ruler remains ruler by name in which he will only let him exercise his full life of luxury. Accordingly, Ibn Khaldun considers this kind of favouritism a disease to the dynasty which can hard to be cured”.⁶⁴⁴ It seems that states or dynasties, in this case, would be disintegrated because of its selfish interests.

5.4 The Impact of Ibn Khaldun to Uthman bin Foduye’s Thought on Societal Reform

Having seen the relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān* in changing Nigerian society by Uthman bin Foduye and its relevance in modern Nigeria as well as the common background between them, the present study realises that Uthman bin Foduye not only shared the same thought with Ibn Khaldun, but he has been influenced his thought. The reason is that at a number of times Uthman bin Foduye referred with Ibn Khaldun’s thought in his writings. Many researchers think the impossibility of the influence of Ibn Khaldun’s writing to Uthman’s thought due to the long generation and location between them. In spite of this, Hassan observed that, “Ibn Khaldun’s writings might have influenced the *‘Ulamā’ of Bilād al-Sūdān*, particularly the Sokoto triumvirate (Uthman bin Foduye, his brother Abdullah and his son Muhammad Bello)

⁶⁴⁴ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 149-50.

as they frequently quoted Ibn Khaldun in their writings especially in Uthman bin Foduye's writings".⁶⁴⁵ It is discovered that Uthman bin Foduye has been influenced by Ibn Khaldun when he was preparing ground for his societal change. The best reference to this statement is Uthman Bugaje, who argues that, "Uthman bin Foduye in the pre-*Jihād* period, when he had to prepare his *Jamā'a* for a subsequent battle with the rulers of Hausaland. And to declare his position on the need for revolutionary *Jihād* he had at times relies on Ibn Khaldun's *Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (later popularly known as the *Muqaddimah*)".⁶⁴⁶ The above are two important facts which testify to the impact of Ibn Khaldun's thought to Uthman bin Foduye, even though the statement of Hassan shows that Uthman bin Foduye frequently mentions Ibn Khaldun in his writings, while the latter statement of Usman Bugaje reveals that Uthman at time relies on Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*. Based on this, one may be in a position to advocate that Uthman bin Foduye has been influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought. Thus, based on the researcher inquiries, the findings reveal that Uthman bin Foduye has quoted Ibn Khaldun one time in his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-Ikhwān 'ala Ahwāl ard' al-Sūdān*; he also quoted him twice in his *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'ala al'Ibād* as the detailed of the places will be elaborated in the coming discussion.

To understand the thought of Uthman bin Foduye concerning the history of West Africa, it is extremely important to refer to his book *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān*. In this book, it is discovered that Uthman bin Foduye in highlighting the history of West Africa, he specifically "Made reference to Ibn Khaldun regarding the African tribes and the historical details of the dynasties neighbouring the West. Therefore, in the West are merchant tribes, then the Kanem (now its major parts in Borno State in Northeastern

⁶⁴⁵ Ahmad Tukur Hassan, "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of Asabiyyah: A Factor of Relevance in the Study of the Rise and Fall of the Central Government of Sokoto Caliphate", 43.

⁶⁴⁶ Usman M. Bugaje, "Scholarship and Revolution," 13.

part of Nigeria), the Kūkū and after them is the Tukrūr. Ibn Khaldun also included in the discussion the different classes of the African people”.⁶⁴⁷

In addition to the above, Uthman bin Foduye quotes Ibn Khaldun in his famous book, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijra*. In this book, he firstly quoted him as an authority in determining the geographical limits of the land of Sudan, For example, Uthman says, “If one were to ask what the limits of the land of Sudan are? I will never found anyone who tried to describe its beginning and end, than what *Imām al-Ḥafaza, Wali al-Dīn* Ibn Khaldun said in his *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*”.⁶⁴⁸ Hence, it is clear that the discussion is almost similar to what Uthman cites in his *Tanbīh al-Ikwān* as it is mentioned above. Similarly, in another place in *al-Bayān*, Uthman quotes Ibn Khaldun in reference to the question of how Muslim of the people of Sudan region have accepted Islam, the question is “do they (the Sudanese people) accepted it voluntarily or through being conquered? Thus, Uthman said the answer to this is what appeared from Ibn Khaldun and others who said that those who became Muslims from among the people of Sudan did so voluntarily without being conquered or through forced by anybody. He also said therein, one of the Sudanese Qādis declared that the Imam or a leader who conquered them (the people of Sudan) while they were nonbelievers chosen to let them continue as slaves.”⁶⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it appeared that Muhammad Bello in the first chapter of his famous book, *Infāq al-Maīsūr*, quotes Ibn Khaldun with the same notes of his father. It should be clear that he actually quoted Ibn Khaldun to substantiate his views concerning the real origin of *Bilād Sūdān* or *Bilād Tukrūr*.⁶⁵⁰ To conclude with since Uthman bin Foduye referred to Ibn Khaldun *Muqaddimah*, it might be assumed that he reads Ibn Khaldun’s concept of ‘*Umran*’, as it is said earlier that it might be the reasons for the

⁶⁴⁷ Uthman bin Foduye, *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān*, 20.

⁶⁴⁸ El-Masri, 51. In his footnote to this issue, says *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* was apparently the title by which Ibn Khaldun’s *Kitab al-Ibar* was known in the Sudan.

⁶⁴⁹ Uthman bin Foduye, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah*, 50.

⁶⁵⁰ Muhammad Bello, *Infāq Al-Maīsūr fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Tukrūr*, Abubakar Mahmud Gumi (ed.) (Al-Qahirah, Egypt: Al-Ittihad al-Ishtirak al-Arabi, 1963), 27.

successful organisation of his society and its changing from traditional to Islamic society and finally to Islamic government, the Sokoto Caliphate.

Historically, it is significant to know when and how the writings of North African scholars spread into West Africa. Hence, it will be further discovered how the thought of Ibn Khaldun who emerged from North Africa have been influenced by West African scholars particularly Uthman bin Foduye and his lieutenants. Accordingly, it has reported that Islam reached the Savannah region in the 8th Century AD.⁶⁵¹ Thus, the written history of West African scholars started manifesting from this time. Similarly, it was in this century the historians among the Muslim Arabs began to write about *Bilād al-Sūdān*. The famous Arab scholar Ibn Munabbah wrote at the beginning of 738 AD followed by Al-Mas'ūdi in 947 AD.⁶⁵² As Islam became widespread in *Bilād al-Sūdān*, it was absolutely believed that trade links with North Africa also came to be well established. Therefore, with such trade and commerce it smoothly gives way to the development of civilisation and gradually made the intellectual transformation which naturally followed by the massive spread of literary works, this results in parts of *Bilād al-Sūdān* become famous for centuries as centre of learning up to the present time.⁶⁵³

Moreover, I Doi declared that a sufficient document about the history of *Bilād al-Sūdān* has discovered. This was the reason the Arab historian referred to the region as the land inhabited by black people.⁶⁵⁴ According to the earliest history of Muslim Empires in the region, the most popular Empires of Mali, Ghana, Borno and Songhay are strongly established. Many Arabs historians have written about the civilisation of these lands, notable among them are Ibn Khaldun, Al-Mas'ūdi, and Ibn Battuta Al-Bakri.⁶⁵⁵ In addition to these scholars, there were ordinary scholars whose works have continually circulating even today. For instance, The History of Blacks people by Al-

⁶⁵¹ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria: A Case Study*, 8-9.

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

Sa'di and *Tārīkh al-Fattāsh* by Muhammad al-Kati are all known works on this subject.⁶⁵⁶

Doi further asserted that because of trade routes connection between various Empires, particularly those connected with the present Federal Republic of Nigeria from Tripoli via Fezzan to Bornu, while others linked Tunisia with Nigeria through Ghadames, Chad, Agadez to Hausaland.⁶⁵⁷ All these places became famous trade centres. It might say that these trade centres are perpetually becoming centres of Islamic learning and civilisation. In consequence, new ideas came through visiting traders in the field of administrative practices.⁶⁵⁸ One cannot dispute that these are the underlying factors responsible for the influence of North African writings to West African scholars. It is suffixed to justify that they were the factors contributed the influence of Ibn Khaldun's writings to Uthman bin Foduye and other Sokoto scholars.

To conclude with the discussion played a substantial role in depicting the facts that Ibn Khaldun's thought has a great impact on Uthman bin Foduye's thought in his society reform. Additionally, the discussion further indicates that these books *Tanbīh al-Ikhwān* and *Kitāb Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah* of Uthman bin Foduye are important books in understanding his intellectual capacity in the History of West African tribes and its people. Thus, since the targeted point in this discussion is to determine the places in which Uthman bin Foduye quotes Ibn Khaldun in his writings and how he influences him, now it is curtailed that he was not only quoted him but rather he has been influenced him significantly. Moreover, it might be added that Uthman not only to be considered as a society reformer but at the same time a historian. Meanwhile, his son, Muhammad Bello was also a historian; hence, his monumental work *Inḡāq al-Maīsūr* has extensively sketched the history of *Bilād Tukrūr* or *Sūdūn*.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

4.5 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is understood that Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun can be considered as societal reformers who can benefit the contemporary. Both figures have a common background between their thoughts, which were all in line with the teachings of Islam. Because it was based on the ideas of Islamic teachings and their personal experiences as well as their struggling with the rulers of their time, they developed ideas of the decline of human society, especially Ibn Khaldun who dealt with the subject at length. Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun shared the same thoughts on the negative causes of the decline of states/societies and dynasties.

Uthman bin Foduye in a number of different places in his writings has specifically mentioned Ibn Khaldun, especially on the aspects Islamic history of *Bilād al-Sūdān*; and how people of Hausaland accepted Islam. With this, it is obvious that Uthman bin Foduye has been influenced Ibn Khaldun's thought in preparing ground for his societal reformation. Ibn Khaldun's famous book, the *Muqaddimah* was, known to Uthman bin Foduye and West African scholars as *Tārīkh al-Khabīr* (The great history).

CHAPTER 6: GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.1 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the summary of the findings. It is of paramount importance to note that the main objective of the study was the discussion of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution in changing Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*.

The first chapter examined that the idea of societal change started since the earliest century of Islam. In this regard, the Prophet (PBUH) is considered the first and most famous person who successfully changed the immoral acts of the pre-Islamic Arabian society. It further elucidated that the task of societal change continued in the periods of four rightly guided caliphs followed by the periods of the Umayyad dynasty, Abbasid dynasty and finally to the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the findings further show that in the African continent, three hundred years before the appearance of Uthman bin Foduye, societal reform was carried out by some scholars in different parts of Africa, especially in Northeast. It was against this background Uthman bin Foduye appeared to change the social vices of Nigerian society.

The second chapter described the historical background of Nigerian society before and during the time of Uthman bin Foduye to the present time. It is based on content analysis of the historical records, discovered that Nigerian society during the time of Uthman bin Foduye comprised the areas of what is today known as Northern Nigeria (Hausaland). This study noted that Nigerian society was in ignorance and severe oppressions and violation of human right by the then rulers of Hausaland. In describing the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing the society, it reveals that his knowledge of various Islamic sciences and paramount orientations that he received from his teachers has significantly contributed to his successful change of the society.

Additionally, it ascertains that Uthman bin Foduye successfully changed the Nigerian society initially through the act of religious calling (*Da'wah*), which he spent thirty years while teaching and preaching by touring to a different part of Hausaland. This period is considered the evolutionary period, because Uthman never attacked traditional rulers of Hausaland, but rather won their support to call people to accept his mission.

The findings in this regard have further elucidated that Uthman's success is based on his sound teachings and preaching. He used a multiplicity of languages in his religious calling, this impressed the people of Hausaland massively accept his mission by abandoning their traditional religion. In analysing the historical data of his revolutionary period, this study discovered that Uthman bin Foduye and his community resorted to revolutionary *Jihād* because of unexpected events that suddenly arose, that is an attempt by the traditional rulers to assassinate him in order to extinguish the rapid progress of his missionary activities, but finally failed. The victory was in favour of Uthman bin Foduye and his community. From there, Uthman bin Foduye upon allegiance paid to him by his community as commander of the believers established his Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate. Soon later, after the demise of Uthman bin Foduye, many conflicts arose within the Caliphate, which finally led to its decline to the British colonialists.

The third chapter examined the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān*' for the organisation and transformation of human society. It described what Ibn Khaldun means by his concept of '*Umrān*' and its basic elements, which without them '*Umrān*' cannot achieve. Such elements are, '*Ijtimā'*', '*Ta'āwun*' and '*Difā'*'. It identified that without these elements man cannot get what he wants, even a food for his survival, he cannot get, likewise, if he wants to be a leader either in religious or political organisations, he must fulfil them otherwise, it will be difficult for him to succeed. The chapter further described that the fulfilments of all the basic elements of Ibn Khaldun's

‘Umrān are in connection with his concept of *‘Aṣabiyyah*. Therefore, *‘Aṣabiyyah* is the central concept of *‘Umrān*, which the three elements cannot actualise without the presence of *‘Aṣabiyyah*. For example, man cannot get the cooperation of others without *‘Aṣabiyyah* likewise; he cannot be a leader without *‘Aṣabiyyah*.

It should be noted that despite the fact that there is *‘Aṣabiyyah* which Islam criticised and condemned, the focus of this study was on the types of legal *‘Aṣabiyyah* which helps in the successful organisation and transformation of human society for the progress of religious calling. The discussion highlights the types of *‘Umrān*, which Ibn Khaldun divided into *Badawī* and *Ḥadarī* societies. The *‘Aṣabiyyah* of *Badawī* society is stronger than *‘Aṣabiyyah* of *Ḥadarī* society. It was on this points discovered Ibn Khaldun’s idea of social change, for clarity of the discussion, the thought of Western Sociologists examines the evolution of human society, which both of them agree that change in human society is indispensable. According to Ibn Khaldun, religious calling cannot materialise without *‘Aṣabiyyah*. Therefore, where there are *‘Aṣabiyyah* and religion society or state can easily organised, and it will live long because of religion, which extinguishes any differences among members of the society. Ibn Khaldun described that this is the best type of society or state that needs to exist in Muslim society. Finally, conflicts can easily lead to the decline of states and societies.

The fourth chapter analysed Uthman bin Foduye’s contribution in changing the Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun’s concept of *‘Umrān*. The chapter describes the relevance of Ibn Khaldun’s *‘Umrān* to the past and modern societies, which shows that it is relevant in Uthman bin Foduye’s contribution. This is because Uthman contribution occurred in the past. It examined that Ibn Khaldun’s *‘Umrān* is a universal concept that cannot be limited to the modern time. Similarly, it is revealed the role of *‘Umrān* in Uthman bin Foduye’s contribution, which clearly shows that, if not because from the beginning organised himself with others and gets their cooperation, he

might not be successful in changing the traditional society of Hausaland to Islamic society. In addition, the study exposed that without the role of '*Aṣabiyyah* of Uthman's family, tribes and of religion, he could not get the cooperation of his people.

Moreover, the success of his contribution might be due to the *Badāwā* nature of his community and more importantly was for the sake of Allah's religions to prevail over the Hausaland. Therefore, '*Aṣabiyyah* and religion here are the most important elements in the evolutionary success of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution. On the other hand, it is analysed the role of '*Aṣabiyyah* and religion in the revolutionary period of Uthman bin Foduye's contribution. Because of the work force that he gets through '*Aṣabiyyah* of his tribe, family and of religion, it might be the reason for his success in overthrowing the Kingdom of Hausaland and established his Islamic government known as the Sokoto Caliphate. Since it is described that once society or state is established it cannot be destroyed unless by another group with strong '*Aābiyyah*.

Immediately, after the demise of Uthman bin Foduye, the '*Aṣabiyyah* of his people started weakening because of conflicts that arose among them, then the British seized that opportunity and overthrown the government of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903. Finally, to show the relevance of Ibn Khaldun's concept of '*Umrān* in the modern time, despite the fact that Uthman bin Foduye's Caliphate ceased to exist, Nigerian Muslims still united under the leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto due to '*Aṣabiyyah* and religion.

In the fifth chapter, based on analysing various literature written by Uthman bin Foduye and Ibn Khaldun for accomplishing the research objectives of this study, the chapter established a common background between their thoughts, particularly on the negative factors responsible for the decline of states/societies and dynasties. It found that both two figures based their thought on the principles of Qur'ānic verse, chapter 17:16. Thus, the factors according to them are indulgence in a life of luxury, imposing a

heavy tax on the subjects, oppression and injustice, corruption and favouritism. Therefore, analysis of all these factors made in a detailed manner. Meanwhile, it ascertains that Uthman bin Foduye influenced by Ibn Khaldun's thought. This is because he mentioned him one time in his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-Ikhwān*, likewise, he mentioned Ibn Khaldun twice in his book, *Bayān Wujūb al-Hijrah 'ala al-'Ibād*. Thus, the success of his contribution in changing the Nigerian society was probably the impact of Ibn Khaldun's thought.

6.2 RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Despite the fact that this study focussed on the contribution of Uthman bin Foduye in changing Nigerian society from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*, many issues are raised for further studies in other important areas related to the topic. Having concentrated on the religious calling (*Da'wah*) of Uthman bin Foduye as a means of changing the Nigerian society, it is of great importance to study his role in dealing with the economic challenges of Nigerian society (Hausaland) from the perspective of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān*. This study, therefore, recommended that researchers should examine the factors responsible for the disintegration of Nigerian society in the light of Ibn Khaldun's concept of *'Umrān* and its central factor *'Aṣabiyyah* for better solution and reorganisation of the society religiously and politically. Further, it is hoped that Uthman bin Foduye's revolution in Hausaland will be analysed extensively to show its dissimilarity with the activities of radical groups such as Boko Haram that threaten the life of people and the stability of Nigerian security. Overall, the study recommended that the contemporary Islamic scholars should employ the systematic methods in their attempts to change their society from traditional to Islamic society according to the dictates of the Sharī'a. They should possess bravery,

tolerance, and sincerity like that of Uthman bin Foduye in discharging their missionary activities.

University of Malaya

REFERENCES

- The **Qur'an**: *Arabic Text with Corresponding English Meanings, English Revised and Edited by Saheeh International* . (1997). Al-Muntada Al-Istalami, London: Abul-Qasim Publishing House, .
- Translation of the Meanigs of the **Noble Qur'an** in English Language. (Translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan & . Taqi-Uddin Al-Hilali). Madina, K.S.A : King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Qur'an.
- Ashafa, A. M. (2006). Ethno-Religious Relations in the Sokoto Caliphate: Lessons for Contemporary Africa. In e. b. Yakubu, *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol. 2* , . Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Abdul-Aziz, A.-F. O. (2007). *Islam in Nigeria: One Crescent many Focuses*. Shomolu, Lagos: Sakirabe Publishers,.
- Al-Shadadi, A.ed. (2005). *Muqaddimah Abdurrahman bn Khaldun. ed. 5th ed*, Vol. Iskandariyyah, Egypt: Maktabat al Iskandariyya.
- AbdulQadir, M. (1941). "The Social and Political Ideas of Ibn Khaldun. " *The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 3, No. 2*. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42743704>. Accessed: 27-12-2015 18:10 UTC., 117-126.
- Abdulhalim, A. (2012). *The Application of Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Asabiyyah to the Modern Period with Special Reference to the Malay Muslim Community in Malaysia. PhD Thesis*. United Kingdom:: University of Birmingham, 2012).
- Abdur Rahman Ibn Sa'dee. (2015). "*Al-Fatawee as-Sa'diyya*", Vol. 1/92, 1st Edition, 1388 A.H. Damascus: Dar al-Hayat, Retrieved from: Hijrah: <http://www.missionislam.com/knowledge/hijrah.htm>. "Migration for the cause of Allah" by Muhammad Sa'eed Al-Qahtani, Al.
- Abikan, A. I. (2002). "The Application of Islamic Law in Civil Cases in Nigerian Courts". *Journal of International and Comparative Law*.
- Adamu, Y. M. (2006). "Learning Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate: Legacies and Challenges" in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol 2*, ed by H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu. Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Adeleye, R. A. (1971). "Hausaland and Borno" in Ajayi, J.F.A. and Crowder, M (eds), *History of West Africa, Vol 1 (2nd. ed)*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Agil, S. O. (2008). *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*. Selangor, Malaysia: : International Islamic Univerisity College.

- Ahmad, A. A. (n.d.). "Ibn Khaldun, Cyclical Theory and the Rise and Fall of Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria, West Africa". *Centre for Promoting Ideas USA in www.ijbssnet.com*.
- Ahmad, Z. (2003). *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun*. London: New York: Routledge Curzon.
- _____. (2012). "Ibn Khaldun and the Greek Philosophy: Some Notes from the Muqaddimah" . *Historical Research Letter, ISSN 2224-3178 (Paper) ISSN 2225-0964 (Online) Vol 2, .*
- Akiba, O. (2004). *Constitutionalism and society in Africa*, . np.: Ashgate publishing, ltd.
- Alatas, S. F. (2006, May). "A Khaldunian Exemplar for a Historical Sociology for the South". *Current Sociology Vol 54(3)*, pp. 397-411.
- _____. (2015). *Ibn Khaldun: Makers of Islamic Civilization*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.
- _____. (2015). *Applying Ibn Khaldun: The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge Taylor and Francis Ltd.
- _____. (2015). *The Recovery of a Lost Tradition in Sociology (London, United Kingdom: Rout Applying Ibn Khaldun: Also see the author's paper Ibn Khaldun and Contemporary Sociology, National University of Singapore,. London, United Kingdom: Routledge Taylor and Francis*.
- Al-Azmeh, A. (1981). *Ibn Khaldun in Modern Scholarship A Study in Orientalism*. London: Third World Centre for Research and Publication.
- _____. (1982). *Ibn Khaldun: An Essay in Reinterpretation*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Albasu, S. (nd). "From Caliph to Sultan: The Changing Role and Function of the "Caliph" of Sokoto after British Conquest". np: np.
- Al-Hassan, H. (1987). *Suwanene Malaman 'Yan Doto? A Paper Presented at the International Seminar on Intellectual Tradition in Sokoto Caliphate and Borno*. Sokoto, Nigeria: Centre for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.
- Al-Hayuwi, A.-T. b. (1978). *Hissan al-Salam Bayna Awlad Mulai Abdussalam*. Dar al-Thaqafah, Bayda.
- Alkali, N. (1978). *Kanem Borno under the Sayfawa (a study of origin, growth and collapse of a dynasty PhD thesis*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Allawi, A. A. (2009). *The Crisis of Islamic Civilization*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

- Al-Mudamgha, A. A. (1971). *Ibn Khaldun's Socio-Historical Theory: Study in the History of Ideas*. Published Ph.D Thesis, New York: Syracuse University.
- Curtin, p. and *et als.* (1995). *African History from Earliest Times to Independence 2nd Edition*. London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Amri, L. (n.d.). "The concept of 'umran: The heuristic knot in Ibn Khaldun" . *The Journal of North African Studies* 13(3):. DOI: 10.1080/13629380701844672. , 351-361.
- Palmer, H. R. (1967). "*Kano Chronicle*", *The Sudanese Memoirs*". London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., New Impression.
- Ardic, N. (2016). *Genealogy or Asabiyya? Ibn Khaldun between Arab Nationalism and the Ottoman Caliphate*. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 71(2), 2012, 315–324. <http://doi.org/10.1086/666697>. Accessed on 12 April 2016., 315-324.
- Aremu, J. O. (211). "The Fulani Jihad and its Implication for National Integration and Development in Nigeria". *African Research Review, An International Multidisciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 5 (5), Serial No. 22,*.
- Arnbali, A. (1998). *The Practice of Muslim Family Law in Nigeria*. Zaria, Nigeria: Tamaza Publishing Company Limited.
- Ashafa, A. M. (2006). "Ethno-Religious Relations in the Sokoto Caliphate: Lessons for Contemporary Africa" . In e. b. Yakubu., *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol. 2*, (pp. 270-28y6). Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Atmore, R. O. (1969). *Africa since 1800*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Baalbaki, R. (2004). *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary*. Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Ilm LilMalayin.
- Buali, F. (1988). *Society, State and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* . Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Balogun:, I. .. (1967). "*A critical edition of the Ihya' al-Sunna wa-Ikhamad al-Bid'a of 'Uthman b. Fudi, popularly known as Usumanu Dan Fodio*" Ph.D. thesis. London: University of London .
- Bardis, P. D. (1959). "Theories of Social Change". . *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 20(4), (October-December, 1959. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42743523>. Accessed 27th May 2016., 283-290.
- Bellamy, P. 6. (2012). *Principles of Methodology: Research Design in Social Science*. London: Sage Publications.

- Bello, A. (2014). "The Influence of Early Muslim on the Jihad Leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate" . *A Journal of Islamic Sciences and Muslim development*, Vol. 10, 75-6.
- Bello, M. (1957). *Infraq al-Maisur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Tukrur*. London: edited by C. E. J Witting, .
- Bivar, A. D. (1961). "Wathiqat Ahl Al-Sudan: A Manifesto of the Fulani Jihad" . *The Journal of African History*. Vol. 2. No. 2., 235-243.
- Bologun S.U. (1985). "Arabic Intellectualism in Africa: The Role of Sokoto Caliphate" . *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*. Vol. vi. No.2, London, 397.
- Bologun, I. A. (1975). *The Life and Work of Uthman Bin Foduye: The Reformer of West Africa*. Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publication Burea.
- _____. (1975). *The Life and Works of 'Uthman Dan Fodio: The Muslim Reformer of West Africa*. Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publications Bureau.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method". *Qualitative Research Journa*, 27-40.
- Buali, F. (2005). *The science of human social organization: conflicting views on Ibn Khaldun's (1332-1406) Ilm al-umran*. Lampeter, New York: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Bugaje, U. M. (1979). *The Contents, Methods, and Impact of Shehu Usman DanFodio 's Teachings (1774-1804)*. M.A Dissertaion. Khartoum, Sudan: University of Khartoum.
- _____. (1980). *The Sakkwato Model* . Sokoto, Nigeria: Muslim Enlightenment Committee Niyzamiyyah Islamiyyah School, Sakkwato.
- _____. (2004). The Impact of a Tradition of Tajdid on the Sokoto Caliphal Leaders. In B. &. Yakubu, *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004* (pp. 11-12). Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Bunza, M. U. (2004). The Sokoto Caliphate After Two Hundred Years: A Reflection, a paper presented at the 'Ulama Conference on Bicentenary Commemoration of the Sokoto Caliphate held at. *Attahiru Dalhatu Bafarawa Institute of Qur'an and General Studies*. Sokoto, Nigeria.
- _____. (2011). "Initiative for Quality of Sustainable Development: A Model from an African Islamic Polity, Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria" Conference on Islamic Political System (CIPS),. *The National Scholars Association (ILMUAN), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia*,.
- Burns, A. (1972). *History of Nigeria*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

- Curtin, p. and *et als.* (1995). *African History from Earliest Times to Independence 2nd Edition*. London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Chafe, K. S. (1994). Challenges to the Hegemony of the Sokoto Caliphate: A Preliminary Examination, Frobenius Institute,. 99-106.
- _____. (2004). "Remarks on the Historiography of the Sokoto Caliphate",. In H. B. Yakubu, *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004, Vol. 2* (p. 317). Zaria, Kaduna, Nigeria.
- _____. (2006). The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol.2, . In e. b. Yakubu, "*Remarks on the Hisotriography of the Sokoto Caliphate*" (pp. 317-327). Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Chamin Thoha. (n.d.). "The Principles of Ibn Khaldun's Thought in the Muqaddimah" . *retrieved from: https://www.academia.edu/3301816/Ibn_Khaldun_Thoughts*. Accessed on 24 January 2016.
- Chapra., M. U. (2008). "Ibn Khaldun's theory of development: Does it help to explain the low performance of the present-day Muslim world?" . *Journal of Socio-Economic* 27, 836-863.
- Clarke, V. B. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London: Sage Publications.
- Coleman, J. S. (1971). *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. London: University of California Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches 2nd edition*. London: Sage Publications.
- D. J. M. Muffett. (1964). *Concerning Brave Captains: A History of Lord Lugard's Conquest of Hausaland Being a History of the British Occupation of Kano and Sokoto and of the Last Stand of the Fulani Forces* . (London: Andre Deutsch.
- Dal, S. F. (n.d.). "Ibn Khaldun: The Last Greek and the First Annaliste Historian" . *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3879761>. Accessed on 12 April 2016., 431-451.
- Davies, A. J. (n.d.). "The Sixteenth-Century Jihad in Ethiopia and the Impact on its Culture", . *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. ii (4),*, PP. 567-92.
- Dhaouadi, M. (1997). *New Explorations into the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umran Mind* . Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: A. S. Noordeen.
- _____. (Nov., 2005). The 'Ibar: Lessons of Ibn Khaldun's Umran Mind. "*Contemporary Sociology*", Vol. 34, No. 6 (, pp. 585-591.
- _____. (2006). "The Concept of Change in the Thought of Ibn Khaldun and Western Classical Sociologists" . *Islam Arastirmalari Dergisi, ISAM, Istanbul, Sayi 16*, 43-87.

- _____. (2016). "Ibn Khaldun: The Founding Father of Eastern Sociology". . *International Sociology* September 1990 vol. 5 no. 3 319-335. Retrieved from: <http://iss.sagepub.com/content/5/3/319>. Accessed on 3 March 2016.
- Doi, A. I. (1992). *Islam in a Multi-Religious Society Nigeria: A Case Study*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: : A. S. Noordeen.
- Elias, E. A. (1994). *Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English*. Cairo: Elias Modern Publishing House.
- El-Masri, F. (1963). "The Life of Shaykh 'Uthman Dan Fodio before the Jihad". *J.H.S.N. Vol.2, No.4,*, 435.
- Enan, M. A. (1946). *Ibn Khaldun: His Life & Work*. Kashmiri, Bazar: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf.
- Ezzati, A.-F. (1979). *An Introduction to the History of The Spread of Islam*. Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Publications Bureau.
- Fage, J. (1988). *A History of Africa, (2nd Edition)*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- (2003). *Federal Capital Abuja* . Retrieved from: <http://links.onlinenigeria.com/abujaadv.asp?blurb=387>. Accessed on 10 May 2016.
- Fida, M. (n.d.). Ibn Khaldun's theory of social change. *A comparison with Hegel, Marx and Durkheim*". *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 15, AMSS and IIIT, Virgine.
- Firzly, G. S. (1973). *Ibn Khaldun: A Socio-Economic Study (Published PhD Dissertation,*. Michigan, America: Michigan: University of Utah, University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor Michigan.
- Foduye, A. (1958). *Ida al-Nusukh. Edited and trans. Hiskett M. Zaria*, Nigeria: Northern Region Literature Agency.
- _____. (1963). *Tazyin al-Waraqat. (1813/1228). Ed. & trans. M. Hiskett*. I.U.P.
- _____. (2006). *Tazyin al-Waraqat (Decorating Pages with Some of my Poems), Translated and edited by Abubakar Buba Luwa and Sulaiman Musa, in Selected Writings of Shaykh Abdullah ibn Foduye, Vol. 2,*. Gida-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.
- _____. (2013). *Diya' al-Sutan wa gairihi min al-Ikhwan fi Ahammi ma Yadlubu minhum fi haza al-Zaman (A Guide to the Sultan and other Brothers), ed. By Suleiman Musa, and trns. By Abubakar Buba Luwa in Selected Writings of Shaykh Abdullahi bn Foduye, Vol. 3.* Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.

Foduye, U. (1959). *Ifham al-Munkirin alyya fima Amuru al-Nas'wama anhahun 'anh*. Cairo.

_____. (1978). *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah alal 'ibad*, ed. And trans. By F. H. El-Masri. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

_____. (n.d.). *Nasa' ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyah* (Trans. By M. Hiskett) in "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century",. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of Lo*.

_____. (n.d.). *Nurul al-Bab, and Tamyiz al-Muslimin min al-Kafirin*, transl. by Jafar Kaura.

_____. (n.d.). *The Book of the Differences between Government of the Believers and Non-Believers*, tran. And ed. Hiskett M. Sokoto: Sokoto State government.

_____. (n.d.). *Kitab al-Farq bayna Wilayat ahl-al-Islam wa Bayna Wilayat ahl al-Kufr*, tran. And ed. Hiskett M. Sokoto, Nigeria: Sokoto State Government.

_____. (n.d.). *Tanbih al-Ikhwan ala Jawaz ittikhaz al-Majlis li Ajli Ta'alim al-Niswan ilm furud al-a'ayan min Din Allah Ta'al al-Rahman*, ed. by Bukhari Sokoto. Sokoto: Nigeria.

_____. (2013). *Najm al-Ikhwan Yahtaduna bihi fi Umur al-Zaman*, edited by A.B. Yahaya, and translated by Abubakar Buba Luwa in *Selected Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 3*.. Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.

_____. (2013). *Reviving the Sunnah and Suppressing the Innovation, Vol 1*, translated by Abdul-Hafeez Isma'il Ojoye & et als, (edt) by A. B. Yahya. Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria:: Iqra' Publishing House.

_____. (2013). *'Usul al-'Adl liwilat al-Umur wa Ahl al-Fadl (The Principles of Justice for Men with Authority and Honour)*, edited by Suleiman Musa, and translated by Abubakar Buba Luwa in *Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye*. Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.

_____. (2013). *Hukm Juhhal Bilad Hausa (Ruling on the Ignorant People of Hausaland)*, in *Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 1*.edited and translated by A.B. Yahya & Yasi Islam Nabingo. Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.

_____. (2013). *Bayan Wujub al-Hirah alal 'Ibad (Arabic Text)*. Edited and Translated by Sulaiman Musa & Abubakar Buba Luwa in *Selected Writings of Uthman bin Foduye, Vol. 3* . Gada-Biyu, Gusau, Nigeria: Iqra' Publishing House.

Foundation, R. W. (2016). *Qualitative Research Guidelines*. Retrieved from: <http://www.qualres.org/HomeSamp-3702.html>.

- Fromhere., A. J. (2010). *Ibn Khaldun: Life and Time*. . Great Britain: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.
- Gada, A. M. (2010). *A Short History of Early Islamic Scholarship in Hausaland*. Sokoto, Nigeria: Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Department of Islamic Studies.
- Garrison, D. H. (2012). *Ibn Khaldun and the Modern Social Sciences: A Comparative Theoretical Inquiry into Society, the State, and Revolution*. M.A Thesis. United States: University of Denver, United States.
- Goodman, L. (1972). Ibn Khaldun and Thucydides. *Journal of American Oriental studies* 92, 256.
- Ghanem , A. (1997). *Mahmoud Dhaouadi, New Explorations in the Making of Ibn Khaldun's Umrān (Civilization) Mind*. Kuala Lumpur: A. S. Noordeen, 2003 (English). Tunis: University Publication Centre, 1997 (Arabic), 268 pp., ISBN 9830650.
- Gwandu., A. A. (2006). "The Vision and Mission of Shaykh Abdullahi Fodio", in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol. 2, ed. By H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- _____. (n.d.). "Aspects of the Administration of Justice in the Sokoto Caliphate and Shaykh's Abdullahi bin Foduye's Contribution to it" in S. K. Rashid (ed), *Islamic Law in Nigeria: Application and Teaching*. Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau.
- Hassan, A. T. (1999). "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of Asabiyyah: A Factor of Relevance in the Study of the Rise and Fall of the Central Government of Sokoto Caliphate" *Al-Nahdah: . A Journal of Islamic Heritage, Vol. 2 Nos. 1 &2 (1999), Centre for Islamic Studies*,.
- Hakim, B. S. (2006). Rules for Built Environment in 19th century Northern Nigeria. *A journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 23, No. 1, 2006, 1-26. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43030756>. Accessed on 5th March 2015, 1-26.
- Helen Chapia Metz, e. (1991). *Nigeria: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress,.
- Hawker, S., W. ed . (2007). *Concise Oxford Thesaurus (Third Edition)*. United States: Oxford University Press.
- Hiskett, M. (1994). *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio (Islam and Society in Africa)*. United States: Northwestern University Press.

- Hogben, J. (1967). *An Introduction to the History of the States of Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press.
- Huberman, M. B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis 2nd edition*. London and New Delhi: Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.
- Hubert M. Blalock, J. (1969). *Theory Construction: From Verbal to Mathematical Formulation*. (Englewood Cliffs: N.J: Prentice-Hal.
- Hunwick, J. (1965). 'The nineteenth century Jihads', in J.F.A. Ajayi, and E. Ian, (eds.), *A Thousand years of West African History*, . Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press.
- Ibrahim, Y. Y. (2000). *The Concept and Application of Radd al-Mazalim in Historical Perspective: A case Study of Sokoto Caliphate*. PhD Thesis. Sokoto, Nigeria: Postgraduate School, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto.
- Johson, S. A. (2015). *Ibn Khaldun's Epistemology and Philosophy of Mind Amazon: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform*.
- Joffe, . (n.d.). Review of Ibn Khaldun and Islamic Thought Styles: A Social Perspective]. *Bulletin (british Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, 9(2), 193–196. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/195096>. Accessed on 12 April 2016, 193-196.
- Ira M. Lapidus. (1997). Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 40(4), 1997, Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3632403>. , 444–460. .
- Islahi, A. A. (n.d.). "Shehu Usman Dan Fodio and his Economic Ideas" *Munich Personal Repec Archive*. Jeddah: Islamic Economics Institute, King AbduAziz University. .
- Issawi, C. (1987). *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun's of Tunis (Translated)*. London: Darwin Book Publishers,.
- Jameel, M. (2004). *Danfodio's Islamic Reform and the Lessons for British Muslims*. Lewisham & Kent Islamic Centre.
- Junaid, S. W. (2004). The Islamic Concept of Leadership and its Application in the Sakkwato Caliphate. *A Paper Presented at the Conference of Ulama organized to Commemorate the Two hundred years of Sokoto Caliphate, at Attahiru Bafarawa Institute of*.
- Kani, A. M. (1999). "The Place of Kano in the Intellectual History of Bilad al-Sudan", . *DEGEL: Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies*, Vol. ii , 53-55.

- Khaldun, I. (1967). *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* (Trnaslated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal Abridged and edited by N. J. Dawood). (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Khaldun, I. (2005). *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, translated by Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton UniversIbn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, translated by Franz Rosenthal . Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Khaldun, Y. L. (1984). *The Birth of History and The Past of the Third World*. London: Verso Editions.
- Khalifa, I. M. (1972). *An Analytical Study of "Asabiyyah": Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Social Conflict* (Published PhD Thesis. America: The Catholic University of America, University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Kirk-Greene, S. J. (1966). *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary of their Historical Traditions*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Labelle Prussin. (1976). "Fulani-Hausa Architecture". *African Arts*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 97-98.
- Lacoste, Y. (1984). *Ibn Khaldun: The Birth of History and The Past of the Third World*. London: Verso Editions.
- Lane, E. W. (1968). *An Arabic-English Lexicon Part 5*. Lebanon: Librairie Du Liban.
- Last, M. (1967). *The Sokoto Caliphate*. New York, Nigeria: Humanities Press.
- Lauer, R. H. (1991). *Perspectives on Social Change (Fourth Edition)*. London: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lawrence, B. B. (1967). *Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History* Bruce B. Lawrence (The Classic Islamic History of the World). Trnas.Franz Rosenthal. (United States of America: Bollingen Series: Princeton University Press.
- Loftkrantz, J. (2012). "Intellectual Discourse in the Sokoto Caliphate: The Triumvirate's Opinions on the Issue of Ransoming, C.A. 1810". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 387.
- Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (New Edition)*. (2003). England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Brenner, L. (n.d.). The Jihad Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse in Nigeria, in *People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder* edited by J. F. Ade Ajayi and J. D. Y. Peel. London: Longman.

- Mahdi, M. (1957). *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: A Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture* (Great Britain. London: Purnell & Sons Ltd (Poulton) Somerset & London.
- Maiese, M. (2013). "Adressing Injustice" June 2013. . Retrieved from: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/address-injustice>. accessed on 24 January 2016.
- Maishanu, H., M., I. (1999). "The Jihad and the Formation of the Sokoto Caliphate" . *A journal of Islamic Studies* vol. 38, No. 1. (Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad, 119-131.
- Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (New Edition)*. (2007). London, United Kingdom: Macmillan Education.
- Malami, H. U. (1992). *Economic Approaches and Practices of the Sokoto Caliphate: Some Historical Perspective (M.A Dissertation)*. Malaysia: International Islamic University.
- Martin, B. G. (1976). *Muslim Brotherhood in 19th- Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- May, T. (2010). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process 3th edition*. Philadelphia, USA: Open University Press.
- Meek, C. K. (1971). *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- Soltanzadeh, M., S. (2009). Factors Affecting s Society's Life Span According to Ibn Khaldun. *A conference Proceedings of International Conference on Ibn Khaldun's Legacy and its Significance*. Malaysia: ISTAC, IIUM.
- Mills, M. C. (2008). "Comparative Analysis," *In the Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thomas Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Milton, C. J. (1974). *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)* (London: Macdonald and Evans Ltd, 1974), 643. See also *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary*. Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Ilm LilMalayin.
- Fida, M. (n.d.). "Ibn Khaldun's theory of social change: A comparison with Hegel, Marx and Durkheim". *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Vol. 15, AMSS and IIIT, Virgine*. .
- Mohd Ghani Awand, N. M. (2012). *Research Design & Data Analysis in Social Science Research*. Malaysia: University Malaysia Pahang.
- Zakeri, M. (2009). "Mirrors for Princes' As Sources of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory". *Proceedings of International Conference on Ibn Khaldun's Legacy and Its*

- Significance* (p. 172). ISTAC, IIUM, Malaysia: IIUM: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia.
- Morehouse, P. M. (1994). *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide*. London: The Palmer Press.
- Deutsch, M. (2000). "Justice and Conflict." In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Deutsch and P.T. Coleman. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers.
- Moten, A. R. (2009). *Writing Research Proposals & Theses: Substance, Structure and Style*. (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Prentice Hall.
- Mtidy, J. B. (1967). *The revolutionary Years: West Africa Since 1800*. London: Longman Group Ltd.
- Mudasiru, S. (2011). *Sokoto Caliphate: It's Rise and Fall (M.A Masters Dissertation*. Malaysia:: International Islamic University,.
- Bello, M. (1951). *Infraq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Tukrur* edited and trans by C. E.J Whitting. London.
- Murray Last. (1967). "A Notes on Attitude to the Supernatural in the Sokoto Jihad" . *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 4, No. 1 , pp. 3*. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41971197>. Accessed on 27-12-2015., 3.
- Musa, S. (1989). "The Da'wah and Approach of Shaykh Uthman Dan Foduye. " *Islamic Studies, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1989), pp. 397*. Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20839971>., 397.
- Nations Encyclopaedia: *Nigeria-Religions*. Cited from: <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Nigeria-RELIGIONS.html>. Accessed on 20 May, 2016.
- Nduka, I. M. (1998). *Al-Asabiyyah: A Conflicting Socio-Religious Factor in the Modern Time? Approximation of Nigeria's "groups-in-groups syndrome*. W. Germany: Alle Rechte Vorbehalten.
- Neuman, L. W. (2011). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (7th edition)*. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Nguru, A. M. (1991). *The Life and Contribution of Sheikh Lawan Usman Abba Aji (Bachelor Degree Project*. Borno, Maiduguri, Nigeria: University of Maiduguri.
- Nigeria Population: *World meter*. Accessed on 21 May 2016.
- Nigerian Population 1960-2016. <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/nigeria/population>. Accessed 21 May 2016.

- Ojelabi, A. (1970). *A Text Book of West African History (1000. A.D. To the Present Day*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Educational Research Institute.
- Olamide, A. A. (2010). “*Usman Dan Fodio's Jihad: A Cross Between A Religious and Political Movement*”. Retrieved from: <http://www.articlesbase.com/writing-articles/usman-dan-fodios-jihada-cross-between-a-religious-and-political-movement-3912169.h>.
- Oxford Wordpower (*Li al-Daris al-Luggah al-Ingliziyyah*). (2015). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paden, J. N. (2006). Contemporary Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphate: Rule of Law, Federation and Conflict Resolution” . In Hamid Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu (ed.), *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004, Vol 2*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Palmer, H. R. (1914). “An Early Fulani Perception of Islam” *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 13, No. 52. *Oxford University Press Royal African Society Stable*. Retrieved from: URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/715847>. Accessed: 27, 407-414.
- Paul Wehr, H. B. (1994). *Justice Without Violence*. np: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Philips, B. S. (1971). *Social Research: Strategy and Tactics. 2nd edition*. London: The Macmillan Company.
- Piere, R. T. (1954). *A Theory of Social Control*. New York: McGRAW-HILL Book Company, Inc.
- Punch, K. F. (1998). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*. London: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Quick, A. H. (1995). *Aspects of Islamic Social Intellectual History in Hausaland: Uthman bin Fudi, 1774-1804 PhD Thesis*. Canada: University of Toronto.
- Rabi, M. M. (1967). *The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Reave, C. C. (1992). *Quantitative Research for the Behavioral Sciences*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,.
- Sally Wehmeir, C. M. (2007). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Seventh Edition)* . New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sa'ad, A. (1977). *The Lamibe of Fombina*. Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Sa'ad, A. (2003). *Notes on Sakkwato Jihad*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Joyce Graphic Printers & Publishers Co.,.

- Sa'ad, A. (1994). "The Emirate Type of Government in the Sokoto Caliphate, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria: . *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* vol. 7, No.2 , 211-229.
- Saunders, J. J. (1966). *A History of Medieval Islam* . London: Second Impression.
- Sidani, Y. M. (2008). "Ibn Khaldun of North Africa: an AD 1377 theory of leadership", . *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 14 Iss Permanent link to this document: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/17511340810845499>. Accessed on 18 April 2016., 73-86.
- Simon Heinrich. (2002). *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*. New Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors.
- Smith, H. F. C. (n.d.). 'A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*.
- Smith, A. (n.d.). "The Early States of the Central Sudan". *History of West Africa*, 2nd ed., vol. I.
- Smith, M. G. (1960). Government in Zazzau 1800-1950 . *Oxford Journal*, 141-8.
- Steven Vago. (2004). *Social Change (5th Edition)*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall,.
- Strauss, A. L. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, 2nd edition. (Sage: California: Thousand Oaks CA.
- Sulaiman, M. D. (2006). "The Sokoto Jihad, Shari'a and Minorities in Northern Nigeria",. In e. b. Yakubu, *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004. Vol. 2*, (pp. 224-4). Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Sulaiman., I. (1987). *A Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio*. London and New York: Manshell Publishing Limited.
- T., R. J. (1997). "The Politics of History: The Legacy of the Sokoto Caliphate in Nigeria (Review)". *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Volume 32, Issue 1-2, June 1997, Pages 50-65. Retrieved from: <http://ezproxy.um.edu.my:2098/search/form.uri?display=basi>, 50-65.
- Tadiman, M. (2016.). "A Research on Islam and Muslims in Africa". Retrieved from: <https://muslimsinafrica.wordpress.com/2013/03/15/caribbean-memories-of-slavery-and-the-myths-of-othman-dan-fodios-sokoto-caliphate-dr-moshe-terdiman/>. Accessed on 1 February 2016.
- Tahir, A. (1989). *The Social Writings of Shaykh Uthman bin Fudi: A Critical and Analytical Study*, PhD Thesis. Canada:: McGill University,.
- Trimingham, J. S. (1968). *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* . London: Longman.

- Ubah, C. N. (2006). *"The Sokoto Caliphate: The Ideals of 1804 and the Realities of 2004"*, in *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies, 1804-2004, Vol. 2. Edited by H. Bobboyi & A. M. Yakubu*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Arewa House, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Umar, M. S. (2006). *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule*. Brill Laiden-Boston: The Nietherlands Library of Congress.
- Vago, S. (2004). *Social Change (5th Edition)*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hal.
- Wardi, A. H. (1950). *A Sociological Analysis of Ibn Khaldun's Theory: A Study in the Sociology Knowledge. (Published PhD Dissertation*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas.
- Whitting, C. E. (nd). *A History of Sokoto*. Kano, Nigeria: El Haj Sa'id. Ife-Olu Printing Works.
- Y. A. Aziz, A. A. (n.d.). *"Exploring the Islamic and Halal Tourism Definition"* *Conference Proceedings on Innovation and Best Practices in Hospitality and Tourism Research, Malaysia: Universiti Teknologi MARA*.
- Yacoob, M. (2015). *"Prophet Muhammad-The Most Successful Reformist"* . from: <http://www.islamicity.org/4154/prophet-muhammad-the-most-successful-reformist/>.
- Yousof, S. F. (2005). *Mu'jam al-Tullab*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmaniyyah.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

- 1- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Aizan bt Ali @ Mat Zin & Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid. (2016). "The Historical Bedrock to Uthman bin Foduye's Notion on Society Building" in *AL-MUQADDIMAH: Journal of Postgraduate Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Vol. 4 (1), June, ISSUE 1, pp. 1-19, (E-issn:2289-3954), URL: <http://e-journal.um.edu.my/jurnal>.
 - 2- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Aizan bt Ali @ Mat Zin & Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid. (2016). "Uthman Bn Foduye (D.1817): An Analytical Study of his Ideas on the System of Islamic Government and its Ministers for the Contemporary Muslim Leaders" in *AL-MUQADDIMAH: Journal of Postgraduate Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Vol. 3 (3), December, ISSUE 1, pp. 1-11, (E-issn:2289-3954), URL: <http://e-journal.um.edu.my/jurnal>.
 - 3- Gokaru, Shuaibu Umar and Aizan Ali @ Mat Zin. (2016). "Diseases and Remedies of al-Kibr in the Light of Uthman bin Foduye's *Shifa' al-Nufus*" in *INSANCITA: Journal of Islamic Studies in Indonesia and Southeast Asia*, Vol. 1(1), February, pp. 67-80. Bandung, Indonesia: Minda Masagi Press, ISSN 2443-1776.
 - 4- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Aizan Bt Ali @ Mat Zin & Ahmad Faisal bin Abdul Hamid. (2016). "The Methods of Uthman bin Foduye's Teaching and Preaching in Islamizing Pre-Colonial Nigerian Society" in *Online Journal Research Islamic Studies, Academy of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 3 No, pp. 15-28, doi:10.15364/ris16-0301-02.
 - 5- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Aizan Bt Ali @ Mat Zin & Ahmad Faisal Abdul Hamid. (2016). "Qur'anic Guidance on the Ways and Means to Restore the Vigorous Study of natural Science in Contemporary muslim Societies" in *QURANICA: International Journal of Quranic Research*, Vol. 8, Issue. 2, December 2016, pp. 37-52.
- Aizan binti Ali@ Mat Zin and Shuaibu Umar Gokaru.2015. The History of ISlamic Astronomy and Muslims Challenges in Interpreting The Qur'anic Verses. in Robiatul Adawiyah Mohd et. all. Implementing Quranic Values in Society.USIM Press.
- 6- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Aizan Ali Mat Zin, Faisal @ Ahmad Faisal bin Abdulhamid. The Movement of Uthman bin Foduye in Changing Nigerian Society: An Examination of the Contributions of Malacca Sultanate in Spreading Islamin the Malay World, ICON IMAD 2106 (*Non-ISI/Non-SCOPUS*)
 - 7- Shuaibu Umar Gokaru, Ahmad Faisal Abdulhamid & Aizan Ali @ Mat Zin. "The Role of Uthman bin Foduye in Establishing Centre of Islamic Learning in Hausaland (Northern Nigeria): A Comparative Study of *Pondok* System in Kelantan, Malayasia". The paper has been accepted for publication in *TAWARIKH: International Journal for Historical Studies*, Bandung, Indonesia: April 7, 2017.

List of Papers Presented

- 1- The Methods of Uthman bin Foduye's Teaching and Preaching in Islamizing Pre-Colonial Nigerian Society. The paper has been presented at The International Seminar on Empowering Islamic Education (MADRASAH 2016) on 20th-21th October, 2016. At Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya.

2- Historical Bedrock to Uthman bin Foduye's Approaches in Building Hausaland Society. The paper has been presented in *TAWIS 2015 Seminar Kebangsaan Tamaddun Warisan Islam*. Organized by the Department of Islamic History and Civilization, Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, on 16 & 17 November 2015.

3. The Contribution of Uthman bin Foduye (d. 1817) in Changing Nigerian Society: A Discussion from the Perspective of Ibn Khaldun's Concept of 'Umrān. The topic has been presented in University of Malaya Three Minutes Thesis Competition **UM3MINUTES** on 6 March 2017. The researcher has won first position at the Faculty level and participated in the University level respectively.

University of Malaya